

The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

From 1736 to 1761.

VOLUME II.

APRIL to OCT. 1746.

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THE PRIVATE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, and Governor of Pondichery.

VOLUME II.

[PRICE, 2 *rupees* 12 *annas*.] [4 *shillings*.]

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ANANDA RANGA PILLAI.

DUBASH TO

JOSEPH FRANÇOIS DUPLEIX,

Knight of the Order of St. Michael,

AND

GOVERNOR OF PONDICHERY.

A RECORD OF MATTERS POLITICAL, HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND PERSONAL, FROM 1736 TO 1761.

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Volume II.

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II.

Volume II covers a period commencing with the 23rd April 1746, and ending with the 18th October of the same year—something under six months—and yet the record of this brief space of time forms a volume as large as that of the preceding nine years and seven months, and contains but little in the way of petty details.

The central point of interest in the portion of the Diary now placed before the reader is the capture of Madras by the French. Close around this lies the record of what occurred in connection with that event, immediately before and after it took place, and of the quarrels and jealousies which the appearance of de la Bourdonnais on the scene caused between him and Dupleix. I venture to think that the vivid descriptions of these latter which this contains, and the apparently truthful accounts which Ranga Piḷḷai gives of his conversations with Dupleix regarding de la Bourdonnais, will prove of interest; and may, perhaps, in a measure assist in clearing points upon which history seems uncertain. Apart from the seizure of Madras, of which, as the diarist was not a spectator of it and had no one on the spot to furnish him with particulars, he has given but a brief account, much that is interesting, and in some cases amusing, is recorded by him.

It is evident that, although he had not yet been appointed chief dubash at the date on which the present volume closes, he had then become a power in Pondichery, and had gained the confidence of its Governor to an extraordinary degree. That this latter was the case, is evidenced not only by the way in which Dupleix sent for and consulted him on all manner of subjects, including his private affairs, but also by the unreserved tone in which he conversed with him regarding de la Bourdonnais, and the freedom of speech in which he indulged when doing so.

Ranga Piḷḷai writes, at some length, in an entertaining and instructive manner, and with shrewd comments thereupon, of the many intrigaes which took place with regard to the appointment of chief dubash, the prominent part which Madame Dupleix assumed in these, and the unblushing way in which she bargained for bribes to herself and her husband.

In addition to matter of this nature, there will be found in this volume much that is illustrative of the men and manners, both European and Native, of the India of the period to which it relates.

I trust that it will be acknowledged by those who read it, and have perused its predecessor, that the promise which I held out in the general introduction at the beginning of the latter has, to some degree at any rate, been redeemed.

J. F. P.

OOTACAMUND,
November 23rd, 1906.

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Death of son of Nachanna Pillai.

Saturday, 23rd April 1746, or 14th Chittirai of Akshaya.—This evening at 5, I received a letter from Sêshâdri Piḷḷai of the Chingleput pâḷaiyam, stating that the son of Nâchaṇṇa Piḷḷai * had expired on the 11th Chittirai [20th April], at about 8 in the morning. This news has grieved me much.

Sunday, 24th April 1746, or 15th Chittirai of Akshaya.—At 11 this day, the following took place at the Governor's house. Several of the traders who were confined in the court-prison, had been discharged after they had executed agreements, and

* Nâchaṇṇa Piḷḷai was the brother of Sêshâdri Piḷḷai, who was the father-in-law of Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai.

only four remained. On the 11th instant, [20th April] these men signed bonds; but as it was not possible to release them from custody then, I took them with me to-day to the Governor's house, and begged him to set them at liberty. He turned to Gôvindan, the son of deaf Râman, and asked him what benefit he and the others had derived from their refractory conduct. He replied: "We have sustained heavy losses and have been, to a great extent, ruined. In consequence of this we lost our senses, and brought on ourselves all this trouble." On this the Company's merchants and I pleaded hard on behalf of the traders, entreating the Governor to overlook their foolish conduct, and grant them their liberty. We succeeded in obtaining their release. Subsequently, they and the Company's merchants petitioned the Governor for the discharge of Dêvâm Tâṇḍavarâyan, and Rangan, the younger brother of Gôvindan, who had been imprisoned for making false complaints. In reply, he said that this matter did not rest with him, as it more or less concerned me, against whom they and all the traders had complained to the Councillors, and that this case was unlike the other in which he had ordered the traders, who were answerable to him only, and had to execute agreements to him alone, to be set at liberty. I then approached the Governor, and interceded with him for the release of the two men. I begged him to order this for my sake. I explained to him that if any evil befell

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Traders imprisoned for debt placed before Governor.

Who orders their release.

Diarist intercedes for Tandavarayan and Raman.

Chap. XVI. — 1746. They are released.

them, it would look as if I was the author of it. He relented, and directed that they should be given their freedom. On this the Company's merchants, the traders, and I, departed to our homes, at noon.

Mangaitayi and Nannachi proceed on a visit of condolence.

Monday, 25th April 1746, or 16th Chittirai of Akshaya.—This afternoon, at about 1, Mangaitâyi* and Nannâchi, accompanied by Venkaṭâchala Piḷḷai, a kinsman of theirs who had come from Madras, set out for the Chingleput pâḷaiyam on a visit of condolence. I also sent a letter to the following effect: "This is indeed a matter which requires the attendance of one of us. But circumstances here are at present of such a nature as to forbid my leaving."

Two friends visit diarist at his storehouse.

Wednesday, 27th April 1746, or 18th Chittirai of Akshaya.—This morning, as I was resting at my arecanut storehouse, after having paid a visit to the Governor, Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi and Ranga Piḷḷai, the Governor's accountant, visited me. We conversed on various subjects, such as the rumours current in the town, the prospect of the arrival of the trade ships from France, the measures which it would be necessary to take in the event of their coming, the debt to the Governor of the bazaar-keepers, and their refusal to pay arrears. The four official accountants just then went past on their way to the Governor, who had summoned them. We conjectured that he must have sent for them in connection with some

See official accountants going to Governor.

* Wife and daughter of Ranga Piḷḷai.

complaints from the paddy merchants. After a brief interval, all the four men—Azhaga Piḷḷai, Ranga Piḷḷai, Muruga Piḷḷai, and Tiruchelvarâyan—returned, sat down by me, and said: "The Governor sent for us, and gave orders that in future all persons bringing grain into the town should store it in the market, and dispose of it there; that even if it was intended for private consumption, half of the quantity should be exposed in the market, and sold, and that nothing should be taken to any one's house without your permission. He further said that he would not listen to the words of any one else." On this I asked them what complaints had led the Governor to call them together, and issue such a command. Muruga Piḷḷai upon this told me that it was all due to him. I talked to them for some time on general subjects, and after this they departed. The Governor then summoned Tânappa Mudali, and bade him send for the measurers. Kuḷuppaiyan was brought before him, and he stated that whenever paddy was taken by an official accountant it was usually undermeasured to the extent of about a fourth. Chinna Mudali, who interpreted this to the Governor, represented that the paddy would be undermeasured by about a quarter. The Governor then asked him whether a handful was deducted for mendicants and charitable purposes. He replied that it was a longstanding custom to devote one to charity, and that if beggars were actually present they were given something by way

On return inform them of issue of instructions regarding grain brought into town.

Conversation on the subject.

Governor sends for Tanappa Mudali and others.

Inquires as to alleged malpractices of officials.

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1746.

Issues certain orders.

of alms. The Governor thereupon directed that in future the paddy merchants should not be compelled to part with any portion of their grain, either for mendicants or for charitable purposes, it being entirely left to them to contribute anything that they might think fit; and that as neither the official accountants nor others were entitled to anything over and above the prescribed standard, undermeasurement would in future not be allowed, and the measurer in fault would be liable to punishment.

M. de Bausset arrives.

At this moment, M. de Bausset, the Company's chief accounting officer happened to visit the Governor, who as soon as he arrived read to him the

Contents of a petition read to him by Governor.

contents of a petition forwarded in the morning by the Deputy Governor. It being unnecessary to transcribe all the facts set forth in this the salient points of it are given below:—

"The paddy brought into the town is purchased wholesale—for from 10 to 20 pagodas—by all the

Alleges fraud against him and his subordinates.

official accountants. They moreover undermeasure it to the extent of about a fourth. In times of scarcity, they charge a premium of 2, 3, or 4 fanams on each pagoda, according to the exigencies of intending purchasers, and then order the measurers to issue the required quantity. The profit thus made is divided between M. de Bausset and the accountants, in the proportion of 2 to 1. Further, they take away a sackful of paddy under the plea of its being a charitable contribution for paupers and beggars. The rice merchants being thus defrauded by

undermeasurements, and by demands for charitable contributions, and being deprived of all liberty to sell according to their pleasure grain upon which they have paid the necessary tax, complain that much injustice is prevalent here, and refuse to bring in supplies. In consequence of this people are unable to procure the necessaries of life, suffer distress, and feel aggrieved. The conduct of M. de Bausset and the accountants has brought discredit upon the administration of justice. Of the latter, three are good men, but the other, Muruga Piḷḷai, is an unprincipled fellow. The frauds perpetrated by this individual are numerous. Periyaṇṇa Mudali, the accountant employed under M. de Bausset, and his interpreter Kanakappan, a man of the Cheṭṭi caste, monopolise the trade in food-stuffs brought into the town, and divide between them all the profits made thereby. Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi has, under cover of the name of Ranga Piḷḷai the Governor's accountant, stocked his granary with paddy worth 500 pagodas."

CHAP. XVI. — 1746. States the result of these.

Alleges monopoly of the grain trade by certain persons.

Having finished reading the paper, the Governor indignantly asked M. de Bausset why, when such misdoings on the part of his establishment existed, he had neglected to institute inquiries. He replied: "As regards the dishonest conduct laid at my door—let the other matters in the petition remain unchallenged—if it can be proved that I have received a single cash in the way of a bribe; or any other illegal gratification, I am ready not only to pay to the Capuchins a fine of 300 pagodas, but am also

Governor takes M. de Bausset to task.

He asseverates his honesty.

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quite ready to suffer dismissal from office." When M. de Bausset had finished speaking, the Governor, without further reference to the matter, observed: "They say that of the four accountants, three are good men, and the other, Muruga Piḷḷai, is bad. I have no doubt that this is true. It is said in the petition that this individual was in the days of M. Lenoir found guilty of a number of offences, and was dismissed the service. This, also, is a fact. He is a wicked fellow, and a rogue." After saying a few words further in disparagement of Muruga Piḷḷai, he remarked that he was the cause of a host of troubles. M. de Bausset, chiming in with the Governor, added: "It is just so. He is a really bad man. His character has always been disreputable." He spoke, for some time, ill of him in this fashion. The Governor then said: "The petition concludes with a request that the Company will relinquish its right to any duty on paddy. The priests of the church of St. Paul evidently wish that the Government should incur loss." M. de Bausset replied: "Is this all that they are going to ask? They will make several other extravagant proposals." At last he exclaimed: "I must resign my appointment. It is one the holder of which is liable to be slandered by malicious persons." He thereupon bade the Governor farewell, and went off home.

Governor expresses his opinion of Muruga Pillai.

M. de Bausset concurs.

Conversation regarding a request in the petition.

M. de Bausset resigns.

Governor investigates the complaint.

The Governor then turned to Tânappa Mudali, and told him to ask his accountant Ranga Piḷḷai whether it was true that he and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi

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1746.

had each stored up grain to the value of 500 pagodas. The answer given by Ranga Piḷḷai was : "Does not the maintenance of granaries confer a benefit on the town? Is it in any way prejudicial to the people? Have we not paid the duties? Has there been any smuggling? We did not steal it; neither have we purchased stolen property. We spend our own money, pay the necessary taxes, and keep up the supply. There is no dishonesty in this. I may however mention that each of us has not, as is alleged, stored paddy to the value of 500 pagodas. A certain Reḍḍi is in the habit of importing paddy worth 150 pagodas once in two or three months in my name, depositing it in my granary, and disposing of it gradually. Irrespective of this, I receive for my own consumption a supply of thirty bags of paddy, and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi one to the value of 50 pagodas. The permission of M. de Bausset has been obtained, and the necessary tax has been paid. If anything beyond this can be proved, we may then be held to have offended against the Company. These false accusations should be inquired into, and the delinquents adequately punished." This was the reply made by Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, as well as by Ranga Piḷḷai. The Governor thereupon directed Tânappa Mudali to make careful inquiry, and report whether this was the whole truth, and whether anything else could be elicited. He moreover summoned the official accountants, measurers, and all other subordinates,

Accused defend themselves.

Governor directs Tanappa Mudali to inquire further.

CHAP. XVI. 1746.

Issues strict order as to measurement of paddy.

and directed that measurements should in future be uniform, that on no account should paddy be under or over measured, that no deduction should be made on account of charitable or religious objects unless the sellers of their own accord made a contribution, and that no sort of compulsion should be used to induce them to part with even a single grain of rice for such purposes. He then dismissed them with a warning.

Muruga Pillai informs M. de Bausset of this.

As Muruga Piḷḷai was not aware of all that subsequently occurred, he that night communicated to M. de Bausset the instructions of the Governor that in future all paddy brought into the town should be stored in the market, that not a grain of it should be taken home by any one, unless with my permission, and that the orders of no other person should be attended to. M. de Bausset thereupon invented the story that the Governor had issued a command to this effect on seeing that he was lenient towards Europeans, and permitted them to bring in, duty-free, 300 or 400 bags of paddy every day. The instructions of the Governor were of course based upon the revelations contained in the petition. But M. de Bausset concealed this circumstance, stated that he was partial to Europeans, and falsely imputed the origin of the order to this misdemeanor on his part, as if this was a matter to be proud of. This was but in keeping with his character. He is fond of fathering on himself the acts of others, often with the result that he gains discredit. Not

Who assigns a false reason for it.

Comments of diarist on his character.

less than thirty or forty pages would be necessary if I attempted to detail his evil qualities and reprobate conduct. I therefore refrain from doing this.

Thursday, 28th April 1746, or 19th Chittirai of Akshaya.—Venkatêsa Aiyan, the Brâhman employed in the Company's counting-house, went to the Governor at 5 this evening, and reported to him that Râmaiyan, the partner of Sînappaiyan . . .* in the fort, had made away with some property belonging to the Company. The Governor asked him if he could prove this. He replied that he would produce evidence, but required a party of ten of the Company's peons to do to his bidding. He said that he would take all the necessary steps to trace the stolen articles, and would report the result. Ten peons were accordingly given to him. He repaired very early—at about daybreak—to the house of Tadi Arunâchala Chetti, and asked him for a couple of pieces of long-cloth, to which the latter replied that he had none by him. He then betook himself to the new house of Chandramuttu Pillai, and asked him to open the room in which the goods of Tadi Arunâchalam were stored. Chandramuttu Pillai replied that he had not the keys, but would send for them. He was thus kept waiting for about two Indian hours. In the meanwhile, Tadi Arunâchala Chetti arrived, and began to delay matters still further, by making complimentary speeches.

Governor receives information of misappropriation of Company's goods.

Venkatesa Aiyan proceeds to detect the case.

* Perished in the original.

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1746.
Certain property seized.

Venkatêsa Aiyan thereupon said in an overbearing tone: "Unless you procure the key, and open the room at once, I shall have the lock forced by a blacksmith." The door was then opened, and entering the room, he brought out six packages, each containing ten pieces of coarse long cloth. He put these on the heads of six porters, and accompanied by them, went to the Governor. He deposited the parcels in the office-room, and intimated his arrival with the property which he had seized. The Governor asked him who the persons implicated in this affair were, in reply to which he mentioned the names of fort accountant Râmaiyan, the counting-house accountant Lôgaiyan, and Tadi Arunâchala Chetti. He suggested that these three individuals should be imprisoned in separate cells at the court-house, and added that this would lead to the discovery of many other misdeeds. The Governor accordingly ordered their incarceration, as suggested by him. Venkatêsa Aiyan informed him that Tadi Arunâchala Chetti had purchased the three scores of piece-goods produced, at the rate of 40 pagodas a score, a pagoda being equal to 24 fanams; and had deducted a brokerage of 3 pagodas for each score, as also 2 pagodas for charitable purposes . . . .* The Governor upon this told him that inquiries would be made on the morrow concerning these matters, and bade him depart.

Three persons accused and incarcerated.

Venkatesa Aiyan lays certain information against Arunachala Chetti.

* Perished in the original.

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Friday, 29th April 1746, or 20th Chittirai of Akshaya.—To-day, at the instance of Venkaṭêsa Aiyan, the Governor ordered that Chandramuttu Piḷḷai, and Muttukumara Piḷḷai the accountant of Taḍi Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, should be brought before him. Having got wind of this, the latter took to flight, and escaped to Vânûr and Piḷichapaḷḷam. The other man hid himself in the town. When this became known to the Governor's accountant Ranga Piḷḷai, he sent for Chinna Parasurâma Piḷḷai, and with his help saw Chandramuttu Piḷḷai, to whom he gave the following advice: "Go to the Governor; tell him, without hesitation, that Taḍi Aruṇâchalam has been renting your house for the last three years, that you are not aware of what he may have kept there, or of what he may have taken away, and that you have no knowledge of anything concerning his goods." Chandramuttu Piḷḷai accordingly made a statement to the foregoing effect to the Governor, who after hearing him, told him that he might go. The man then went to Ranga Piḷḷai, informed him of what had taken place, and went away congratulating himself that his head was saved. It was then reported to the Governor that the whereabouts of Muttukumara Piḷḷai, the accountant of Taḍi Aruṇâchalam, could not be traced. To this he said "Very well." This information was furnished to me this evening by his accountant Ranga Piḷḷai, who further told me that the Governor had asked him when I was likely to present myself, and that

Governor orders production of two other persons.

One hides; the other escapes.

Former subsequently gives himself up.

Makes statement to Governor and is released.

The other not found.

CHAP. XVI. — 1746. Diarist indisposed and unable to visit Governor.

he had answered that the boil in my armpit had not yet burst, but that it might do so to-morrow.

For the last two or three days, owing to this boil and rheumatic pains, I have paid no visits to the Governor.

Venkatesa Aiyan imprisoned.

Saturday, 30th April 1746, or 21st Chittirai of Akshaya.—Diego the East Indian asked some information of Lôgaiyan concerning a matter in which he had to interpret. It is not known what he said, but at noon Venkaṭêsa Aiyan, too, was committed to custody He plotted the entire ruin of a family, and Heaven has brought this trouble on him. He has been the cause of the downfall of many. His superciliousness, his vaunts of having interviews with the Governor, and the contempt for others exhibited by him during the short time he was in authority have been such as to be beyond my powers of description.

Remarks regarding this.

Tanappa Mudali pays one-third of estate of his late brother to Governor.

Monday, 2nd May 1746, or 23rd Chittirai of Akshaya.—In connection with the dispute which has arisen concerning the property of the deceased Kanakarâya Mudali, Tânappa Mudali had agreed to pay to the Governor, M. Dupleix, a third part of the estate; which amounted to 4,000 pagodas. To Madame Dupleix was due, on a bond which she held, the sum of 3,200 * rupees, or 1,000 pagodas, and to Mr. Dupleix, on the bond in his favour, the sum of 6,000 : total 11,000 pagodas. Tânappa went

* Evidently Arcot rupees, 320 of which were equal to 100 pagodas—*vide* diary entry, dated 15th July 1739, at page 101 of Vol. I.

to the Governor's house this evening, at 8 o'clock, with this money in cash, and a bond * undertaking to pay 1,000 pagodas more within ten days. He gave the money and the bond to the Governor, and prostrated himself before him, saying: "It is you, who have raised up my house and family; do with me as seems fit to you." "Well, rise up," said the Governor, "is this not what you, of your own accord and free will, give for what I have done for you? Have I compelled you to present to me anything against your wish?" "No," replied Tânappa Mudali, "I give this with all my heart. Can it be in any way an adequate return for what you have done for me? Nay; I am ready to become your slave." The Governor then advised him, if he wished to avert trouble, to without loss of time adopt his nephew as his heir. He pointed out to him the uncertainty of the life of man. "See," said he, "how many troubles have cropped up owing to the sudden death of your elder brother." Then he inquired of him whether his wife was in any way opposed to his wish to adopt. "No," he replied, "they have all given their consent. We will bring this business to a conclusion in a very short time." "The sooner you do so, the better; you may now take leave," answered the Governor. Bidding him goodbye, *we* came away. I say *we*, emphatically, because I too was there. Subsequently

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Expresses gratitude for favour shown him.

Governor advises him to adopt a son.

Conversation on this subject.

* Apparently a present.

CHAP. XVI. — 1746.

Instructions of Governor regarding certain bond.

I was sent for by the Governor, who instructed me to tell Lazar that he should personally apply to Madame Dupleix for the money due on a certain bond. I then retired, and joined Chinna Mudali, who had remained outside. I communicated to him what the Governor had told me. "See," said he, "what the position of matters between husband and wife is when pecuniary transactions are involved." We then separated; he returning to his permanent place of residence, and I to mine.

Venkatêsa Aiyan released.

At 8 this morning, Venkaṭêsa Aiyan was released from the prison to which he was consigned at noon the day before yesterday.

Thursday, [5th May 1746], or 25th Chittirai of Akshaya.—The incident recorded below took place between 9 and 12 this day. The Governor sent for Râmaiyan, the accountant at the fort, who had been committed to the prison in the court-house, and said to him: "Did you receive from the Company's merchants three scores of piece-goods, enter them in the Company's accounts, and sell them to Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi? Is this true?" He replied: "It is, but I did not do so with any intention of defrauding the Company. Being pressed, I took the cloths as a loan, intending to return them." The Governor added: "There is yet another charge. You misappropriated cotton to the value of 120 pagodas, debiting it in the accounts, and obtaining it on the plea that it was required for the use of the Company." Râmaiyan

Râmaiyan placed before the Governor.

Confesses to peculation of Company's goods.

replied: "I am absolutely innocent of this. The information given to you is false." Producing a letter, the Governor said: "Look here. See what is mentioned in this. Why, in the face of these details, do you tell falsehoods?" Râmaiyan replied: "I was not concerned in this matter. It was the work of Fort Sînappaiyan. I have no knowledge of it." Thereupon the Governor summoned Sînappaiyan, and without putting any questions to him, directed his incarceration in a cell at the court-house. The Company's peons accordingly led him away to prison. The Governor then sent for the old Company's merchants; and the following four persons—namely—Râmaiyan, Vîrarâgava Chetti, Âdi Varâha Chetti, and Chidambara Chetti, arrived. He intimated to them that hereafter they should not supply to the Company any piece-goods, or cloths of any other description, unless the indent was signed by M. Cornet, and that no requisitions from any one else should be attended to. They said: "So be it," took leave of him, and departed. I, also, was with the Governor then, and with his permission, returned home at noon.

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Denies a further charge.

Makes a statement.

Sinappaiyan consequently imprisoned.

Merchants instructed not to supply goods except on indent signed by M. Cornet.

Fort Subbaiyan, his son, the son of Sînappaiyan, and the brother of Râmaiyan, visited me, acquainted me with all that had transpired, and told me in complimentary terms that the burden of protecting them lay on me. Fort Subbaiyan further said to me—pointing to the son of Sînappaiyan—: "These difficulties have arisen through this fellow Nâraṇaiyan.

Subbaiyan and others seek protection of diarist.

Conversation between him and former.

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If Râmaiyan has been guilty once, his fellow employés have been ten times so. Nevertheless, the latter have manifested their spite against him by inducing Venkatêsa Aiyan to report his conduct to the Governor. He consequently retaliated by bringing to his notice their delinquencies. Years ago our forefathers procured for their families the appointments which we at present hold. The time has now come for us to forfeit these." He was sore at heart at what had occurred. It is reported that Mâriyappa Mudali communicated the defalcations regarding cotton to M. Cornet, and that this gentleman summoned Sînappaiyan, and bade him confess the truth, promising at the same time to arrange the matter; but that he disowned all knowledge of the transaction. It appears that the Governor sent for M. Cornet yesterday, and angrily asked him why, when there was a supply of Surat cotton in hand, he neglected to make inquiry whether it was necessary to purchase this material for work in the fort. The Governor, it is said, further observed: "Whenever I inquire into affairs here, and attempt to rectify any short-comings that are noticed by me, some of the Europeans unite, and charge me with being harsh and unjust. When frauds of this kind in the administration of the business of the Company are brought to light, how can I wink at them? The priests of the church of St. Paul are thoroughly well posted in every rumour that is current, and have knowledge of every occurrence in the place.

Grief of Subbaiyan.

Allegation that defalcations were reported to M. Cornet who attempted a compromise.

M. Cornet said to have been severely reprimanded by Governor.

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Although the government is in my hands, I get no such information. In view of the office which you hold, it devolves upon you to make inquiries into such matters. Your supervision is inefficient, and things have drifted into chaos." The foregoing information was given to me by the son of Fort Subbaiyan who said that M. Cornet had communicated it to Nâraṇaiyan, the son of Sînappaiyan of the Fort, in his presence and that of others.

Me. Dupleix asks cloth merchants why their bazaars are closed.

In the course of the day, the wife of the Governor summoned all the cloth merchants, and asked why they had closed their bazaars; whether anybody owed any money to them, or whether she had to pay anything; and what the reason for the action taken by them was. They replied: "No one owes us anything. This being the day of Chittirâ-Paurṇami,* and a festival, we have closed our shops." Madame Dupleix thereupon said: "In future, you should not sell cloths to any person on promise of payment; not even to one in my service. If you have ever any representations to make, you may without hesitation come to me." She then bade them depart.

They explain.

She gives them certain instructions.

Two or three days ago, the Governor sent for M. de Bausset, and said: "Why are you resigning your appointment. The petition received was anonymous, and it was a young boy who handed it to a servant of the Deputy Governor. There is no hurry as regards the step which you propose taking. You

Governor remonstrates with M. de Bausset on resigning appointment.

* The day of full moon in the first month of the Tamil year.

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He persists.

M. de la Selle appointed.

can wait for a few days." M. de Bausset, however, would not consent to do this, and declined to serve any longer. Consequently, M. de la Selle was this day appointed in his stead.

Governor inquires of diarist whether people of Madras are removing property.

The Governor sent for me to-day, and asked me whether the people of Madras were carrying away their property to places outside the limits of that town. I replied: "In the month of Panguni [March] last, on a rumour that a French squadron was expected to arrive very shortly, they set about moving some, but subsequently, in the month of Chittirai [April], a ship which left England last year arrived. This led them to infer that none from France could be on the way to India, for they argued that if any were, this one would not have reached Madras. They have consequently ceased to remove their goods."

Replies in the negative.

Wrath and remarks of Governor.

The Governor, being filled with wrath, exclaimed sharply: "They will find, ere long, that our ships are coming." He then bade me send 100 rupees for the expenses of the ship at Âlambarai.

The foregoing incidents took place this forenoon.

Wednesday, 11th May 1746, or 1st Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—The sound of guns fired at Fort St. David was heard this morning, and the following news was made known in Pondichery. Commodore Barnet, who had command of the entire English fleet sent out for warlike operations, fell ill, and died at 5 on the evening of Tuesday, the 31st of Chittirai [10th May]. There was incessant firing of the guns of

Death of Commodore Barnet.

the fort there as a mark of respect for the departed Commodore. Not only those on land, but also those of the ships, were continually discharged. At 8 at night on the same day, his body was interred. From half-past 6 to quarter after 8, the guns, both ashore and afloat, kept up a continual fire. This was repeated next morning. Public opinion now says that the tide of victory will henceforward turn in favour of the French, as it has hitherto flowed on the side of the English. In support of this view the following occurrences are mentioned: the death of Commodore Barnet, the wreck, ten days ago, of an English ship at the mouth of the Coleroon, and the imprisonment at Devikottai of the captain and about a dozen sailors, who landing there, offended the people by slaughtering cows, and ill-treated them. These misfortunes, coming one after another, are said to point to a decline in the luck of the English. So also, when fortune is favourable to a nation, we hear that it captured a ship here, and a ship there; that it gained a victory in one place, and then one in another. When the scale turns we hear, so they say, that a defeat was sustained here, and another there; that this man was killed at one place, and that man at another. The people of both Madras and Pondichery, moreover, see in the fact of the English having withdrawn the charter from their Company, a sign of diminishing prosperity. They assert that the Goddess of Fortune has departed from Madras to take up her residence at Pondichery,

Marks of respect for him shown by English.

Public opinion as to turn in fortunes of French and English.

Grounds on which these based.

Goddesses of Fortune and Misfortune said to have changed places.

CHAP. XVI. — 1746. Preparations at Pondichery for war.

and that the Goddess of Misfortune has gone in her stead from here to dwell at Madras. Preparations for war are being actively made at Pondichery. Two hundred beds, with mattresses, pillows, sheets, and other appurtenances, are now being provided in addition to former supplies. The Governor has moreover ordered mattresses and sheets for the use of 4,000 men. Sheep, bullocks, and fowls, are being collected to serve for food. Firewood is also being stored. The ramparts facing the sea have been repaired,and the work of restoration is being pushed on with. Further, an incessant watch is maintained, both day and night. Seeing all these preparations going on, people say that the French ships may be expected almost directly. They pray God for their immediate arrival as a means of ensuring their safety. They say that as they have endured reverses for the past two years, they may look for a change of fortune in the future. The public voice never lies. Let us hope that God will protect the people. I have written what has struck me.

Popular views on the subject.

Diarist finds Chinna Mudali and another interpreting a letter to Governor.

Thursday, 12th May 1746, or 2nd Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to the house of the Governor. Chinna Mudali, and Madanânda Paṇḍit, were interpreting to him the contents of a letter sent from Arcot by Subbaiyan. This stated that it was the common talk that the carbuncle which Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had on his back was healing, and that he was pronounced out of danger; that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, the son of Anwar-ud-dîn

News in this regarding various chiefs.

Khân, had marched to Kandanûr, and had fought with the Mahrâtta chief Bâpôji Nâyakkan; that victory rested with Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the Nawâbs of Kandanûr and Cuddapah; that Bâpôji Nâyakkan had fled, and had encamped five miles from the field of battle; that three elephants, five or six camels, and ten horses were captured in the Mahrâtta camp; and that Arcot was now safe. The letter further stated that the Kârvêṭi Râjâ had sent me a horse, a sword, and a dress of honour. The Governor, I was told, asked them whether the Kârvêṭi Râjâ was a great man. To this they replied that he was considered to be as influential a personage as Yâchama Nâyakkan.* The Governor is reported to have said: "Evu polagumuit †" meaning thereby "I am very glad to hear it." I gathered these particulars from what they subsequently said to me.

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Also that the Karveti Raja had sent gifts to diarist.

Governor inquires touching him.

Expresses satisfaction.

After this, Chinna Mudali, pointing to Malaiyappa Mudali, told me that he had heard that this man had been writing for the last two or three days, with closed doors, petitions or something else against him. "Now," he said, "what is he going to write? What more can he have to write, than that the decision in their case has been unjust? In this he is

Chinna Mudali tells diarist of report regarding Malaiyappa Mudali.

* This was the Râjâ of Venkaṭagiri. Kârvêṭi was the present Kârvêṭinagar Zemindari.

† This is the exact transliteration of the Tamil sentence. All attempts to disentangle it have failed. It seems probable that it is a corruption of some slang French expression; the first word being *Et vous*. The rendering of it is Ranga Piḷḷai's.

CHAP. XVI. — 1746. His reply.

aided by no others than MM. Dulaurens, Miran, and Le Maire." I replied: "Are they unacquainted with custom? Surely, they will not advocate his cause. It would be mere madness if they move further in the matter. A decision once arrived at stands for ever. A corpse is a corpse, and will not revive. Now, take immediate measures to adopt an heir."

Urges Chinna Mudali to at once adopt an heir.

He replied that a hitch retarding its progress, had occurred in the matter. On my inquiring what it was he said: "You know that we adopted the child of Tiruchelvarâyan, three days after its birth.

Conversation on this subject.

Now my sister will not consent that that child and my nephew Dhairyanâdhan should both be adopted. Hence the difficulty. What do you advise?" I asked him what his own intentions were. He replied . . . .*

Tuesday, 17th May 1746, or 7th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—Six days ago, the Kârvêṭi Râjâ of Bommarâja pâḷaiyam sent me the following presents, viz.;

List of gifts to diarist from the Karveti Raja.

an Arab horse, an embroidered silk cloth, a Guzerâṭi sash, a silk turban, a shawl, and a dagger inlaid with gold. These were brought by the Brâhman Aiyâbirâlaiyan, Srînivâsa Châri the son-in-law of my priest who had given his daughter to him in marriage, four temple priests of Tirupati who had brought with them some sacred offerings from the shrine of the god Venkaṭêswara Swâmi, and two or three other persons; all of whom had taken up

* Blank in the original.

their abode in the Brâhman street at my village Tiruvêngadapuram. I detained them there a day or two in view—with the permission of the Governor—of conducting them into the town in regal fashion. I watched for an opportunity to speak to him on the subject; but he was in a melancholy mood, and looked much depressed. It may be asked how I have guessed this. Any one looking at him will find anxiety depicted in his usually bright face. He talks peevishly, and is easily irritated. Moreover, there is a general report in the town which lends support to my view. I therefore considered that this was not a suitable occasion for broaching the subject. I then, in company with Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Chetti, Wandiwash Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai, Ariyappa Mudali, and a few others—about ten persons in all—set out; some of us on horseback, and others in palanquins. Appâvu * and other children accompanied us. We reached my village at about an Indian hour before sunset. I made my obeisance to the priest, and we all sat down. Around him were grouped the Brâhman who had with him the gifts sent by Narasinga Râjâ of Kârvêṭi, the peons attending on him, and the persons who had brought the sacred offerings. As soon as we had taken our seats, they addressed me as follows:—

"The Râjâ speaks of you in highly complimentary terms. He is anxious to secure your friendship,

CHAP. XVI. — 1746.

Diarist contemplates seeking permission of Governor to give these fitting reception.

Observing him in despondent mood defers doing this.

Proceeds with others to his village, where presents waiting.

Interview with bearers.

* Son of Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai, the younger brother of the diarist.

Chap. XVI. — 1746. Who make a complimentary speech.

and constantly expresses the warmest attachment to you. Day and night he longs to see you, and for this purpose he proposes going on a pilgrimage to Râmêsvaram, so that he may be able to pay his respects to you on the way. He would much like that you should make a journey to the shrine at Tirupati, so that you could visit him there."

Diarist replies.

They spoke at some length in this style, saying that they did so at the bidding of the Râjâ. I then replied to them in fourfold more flowery language, expressing my regard and affection for him. After this I was first presented with the sacred offerings from Srînivâsa Swâmi, and then with the four articles comprising the dress of honour, and the large dagger sent by the Râjâ. Aiyâbirâlaiyan, and Srînivâsa Chári the son-in-law of my priest, then said, in courteous terms : "There is also a horse in the street for presentation to you. Be pleased to accept it." They added : "These four or five gifts were made to the Râjâ by the Niẓâm about four or five months ago. The moment he received them, he determined that they should be forwarded to you. He has accordingly sent them." I replied in equally polite terms that God having willed that I should receive these presents, it appeared to me that my fortunate time had come. We exchanged civilities in this style for about half an Indian hour, and I then took leave of them. I supped at my village that night, and spent it merrily. On the following day, at about four Indian hours before

Gifts handed to him.

Makes suitable acknowledgment.

sunrise, the Brâhmans, the others who came from the Râjâ, and I, set out for Pondichery, and reached my house at about fifteen minutes after sunrise, when the rising sign of the zodiac was Taurus. We went upstairs, where we all sat down. Betel and nut were distributed to us there, after which the men sent by the Râjâ repaired to my indigo storehouse, where accommodation was provided for them. After furnishing them with the necessary supplies, I ate some cold rice, proceeded to the Governor's house, and saluted him. I saw, from his face, that he was not in his usual spirits. On this I withdrew, and meeting Tânappa Mudali, entered into talk with him on general topics. In the course of our conversation he said : "I forwarded the key of my storehouse to the widow of Kanakarâya Mudali, but she declined to receive it. She states that she will take it only when sent by the Governor himself. It is reported that she and her friends are preparing some petition, and that they intend appealing to the Council, alleging that the measures adopted with regard to the estate of her husband were carried out under compulsion from the Governor." I replied : "I also heard a similar rumour : her statement that she would receive the key only when sent by the Governor, and not otherwise, goes to confirm the suspicion that they are bent upon memorialising." As Tânappa Mudali shared my opinion he requested me to go with him to the Governor to report the matter. I told him that this was not a suitable

Chap. XVI. — 1746.

Returns home bringing messengers with him.

Whom he entertains as his guests.

Visits Governor but seeing him in low spirits retires.

Tanappa Mudali informs him of conduct of widow of Kanaka-raya Mudali.

And of report of intended appeal to Council.

They agree to inform Governor.

CHAP. XVI.

1746.

time, and observed that we might see to it in the evening.

Madame Dupleix sends for diarist.

This evening, Madame Dupleix sent for me, and said: "In connection with the transaction with Madame Cordier, you gave me 1,250 rupees, together with interest at the rate of 10 per cent. Can I not get more than that?" I answered: "Had this been possible, would I not already have sent the money?" She replied: "Very well." After a brief interval she said: "I am prepared to make a loan. Do you require it on interest?" I thanked her, and added: "Madame, I have no need for money just now."

Conversation which ensued.

Tânappa Mudali then came to me, and said: "The Governor has arrived. Let us tell him now." I replied: "So be it." We accordingly went towards him; he was smoking. As soon as he saw us he rose to his feet, approached us, and exclaimed: "What is the matter Monsieur Rangappa." I replied: "Kanakarâya Mudali's widow has refused to receive the key of the house assigned for her use. She says that she will take it only when sent by you." He then summoned the mace-bearer, and addressing me said: "Hand over the key to this man, and tell him that I have bidden him deliver it to Pedro's wife." I accordingly gave the mace-bearer the necessary instructions, and in the presence of the Governor placed the key in his hands. Tânappa Mudali then suggested to me that I should communicate the rumour regarding the widow's

Tanappa Mudali and diarist inform Governor of conduct of Kanakaraya Mudali's widow.

He gives certain orders.

Tanappa Mudali suggests mentioning rumour of appeal.

appeal, and the further steps which she proposed to take. I told him to do so himself. The Governor on this asked us twice or thrice what the matter of which we were talking was. Tânappa Mudali thereupon said: "Kanakarâya Mudali's widow and her brothers propose to prefer an appeal to the Council, alleging that the existing decision as to the suit was the result of coercion on your part." The Governor turning to me, exclaimed: "Is this true?" I replied: "Lazar has desired me to inform you that they contemplate doing this. I have also received a hint to the same effect from one or two persons." He then remarked: "Are not the parties on amicable terms now?" I answered: "If they were, what would be the need for litigation, and why do they require that the key should . . . *

CHAP. XVI.

1746.

They do this.

Conversation on the subject.

* Blank in the original.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM MAY 20TH, 1746, TO JUNE 11TH, 1746.

Armed force starts for Kârikâl—Final destination not known—Reported coalition of English and Tanjoreans against French—Agreement by diarist touching payment of debts to Governor—Reinforcement starts for Kârikâl—Death of Bâlaiya Swâmiyâr—Remarks regarding him—Return of family from Chingleput—Letter from Chinnavâṇḍa Chetti—Account therein of pearl fishery and of profits of merchants—Intimates also that Aruṇâchala Mudali and others were conducted as prisoners to Tanjore, and mentions preparations for defence at Negapatam—Letter to Governor from Muhammad Kamâl—Former questions diarist regarding a certain suit—Diarist replies—And objects to interference by Muhammad Kamâl—Governor directs that no reply be sent—Diarist intercedes for Kârikâl Tiruvêngadam—Governor, after some discussion, consents to restore him—Tiruvêngaḍam released—Governor receives petition from one Piḷḷâ Chetti—Inquires into it—Sends for petitioner and others—Petition read—Accuses Aruṇâchala Chetti and Governor's accountant of extortion—Diarist goes to Governor's house, but finding him engaged, returns—Hears of receipt of gazette and despatch from France—Defers interview with Governor—On following day visits Governor—Conversation regarding release of Aruṇâchalam—Governor directs diarist to pay to his accountant amount due—He does so—Again waits on Governor—Finding him much depressed, retires without mentioning errand—Doings of King of France as told in the gazette—Complaint of French Company against English—Ultimatum sent to Dutch by King of France—Fleet of ships on way from France—Circumstances occurring to diarist as reasons for Governor's despondency—Attends a marriage—Accompanies a friend on an errand—Goes to residence of Governor—Who calls him up and gives him account of various matters of much interest regarding affairs in Europe contained in gazette—Remarks touching English—Governor explains constitutional history of England—Conversation regarding this—Diarist inquires when ships expected—Governor informs him—Diarist again moots release of T. Aruṇâchalam—Governor demurs—But finally consents, as a personal favour—Report made to Governor as to condition of imprisoned family of an absconding Paṭhân—Orders their release—Desires diarist to purchase horse of the Paṭhân for him—Letters and despatch from France—Governor inquires of diarist why there are no transactions in arecanuts—Prohibits imports of goods from British territory—Exodus of people to Villiyanallûr festival—Further speculations of diarist as to cause of dejection of Governor—Accident at festival of local god—Regarded as portent of evil—Marriages of daughters of Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi—

Governor, wife, and others, attend—Presents to M. and Me. Dupleix—Sêshâchala Chetti visits diarist—Seeks his influence in obtaining certain honours during marriage ceremonies—Conversation on the subject—They repair to the Governor—State what Sêshâchala Chetti desires—Governor refuses—Arrangements as regards gifts to be made by Governor to the brides and bridegrooms—Delay arises from difficulty in procuring broad-cloth for presentation—Bridal party pays its respects to Governor and wife—Receives presents and expression of good wishes, and retires.

Friday, 20th May 1746, or 10th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—The following took place to-day. At 4 in the morning, 100 sailors who had belonged to the French ship which was captured by the English, fifty soldiers, and fifty Mahé sepoys, marched for Kârikâl by land, under the command of five officers mounted on horses. The men were well provided with powder, ball, grenades, and all other munitions of war. The object of this expedition has not been revealed; but from attendant circumstances, it may be conjectured that the destination of it is Tanjore. Intelligence has been received that the English have written to the Râjâ of Tanjore to give battle by land,—they themselves undertaking to attack from the sea—, that they have agreed to bear all the expenses of the Râjâ's troops, and that they are marching to Tanjore. This conjecture is strengthened by the report made by the people who came from Cuddalore, which is to the same effect. The truth will be known as matters progress.

Armed force starts for Karikal.

Destination conjectured to be Tanjore.

Reported coalition of English and Tanjoreans against French.

This morning, the Governor asked me why I had not paid the money due to him. I replied that I would, at the end of Âni [beginning of

Agreement by diarist touching payment of debts to Governor.

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July], give 5,000 pagodas, and having entered into an oral agreement with him to that effect, came away.

Reinforcement starts for Karikal.

Saturday, 21st May 1746, or 11th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—Nothing noteworthy took place to-day before the Governor at the fort. M. Duquesne, and ten sepoys armed with muskets, started for Kârikâl.

Death of Balaiya Swamiyar.

This afternoon at about 2, Bâlaiya Swâmiyâr, the chief of the matt* of Bommaiya pâḷaiyam, quitted this world for Kailâsa.† He was installed in the year Subhakritu [1722], and served twenty-four and odd years. During his tenure of office, all the subordinate ascetics were like so many Bâlaiya Swâmies, each being an independent governor. They have ruined the institution, and brought discredit on it. What the character of his successor will be is not known. The disposition of the deceased was more that of a cow than a human being. Such was the will of God.

Results of his tenure of office.

His nature.

Return of family from Chingleput.

This evening at half-past 6, Mangaitâyi ‡ and her daughters Pâpâḷ, Ponnâchi, and Nannâchi, returned from Chingleput.

Letter from Chinnavanda Chetti.

Sunday, 22nd May 1746, or 12th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—A letter written on palmyra leaf sent by Chinnavâṇḍa Cheṭṭi from Negapatam, conveyed the following news. At Negapatam, a notice had been published that the pearl fishery would be commenced

* A kind of monastery where a celibate priest lives with his disciples.
† The abode of Siva. ‡ The wife of Ranga Piḷḷai.

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Account therein of the pearl fishery.

this season, and continue for three years; that it would not be farmed out, but that the Government itself would conduct the sale of the oysters fished up; and that it would be open to every one to bid for them. The profits from the fishery this year were enormous. The value of the pearls obtained up to the present by the divers has been a lakh of pagodas. The merchants who purchased the oysters, and sold the pearls taken out of them, obtained a return of a hundred-fold. If they had waited for a month or two, and sold the pearls in the northern and western countries, they might have cleared two and-a-half or three times the amount of their outlay. The letter further stated that Arunâchala Mudali the younger brother of Kallâ Mudali, as well as the son of Kallâ Mudali, and Chokkanâdha Mudali the son of Muttu Mudali, together with the elder brother of the latter, had been conducted as prisoners to Tanjore where they had been fettered, and severely beaten, and that for the last ten days, preparations for defence were being made in the fort at Negapatam, guns were being mounted on the walls, the garrison was being strengthened, and military stores were being laid in. Like tidings were also brought by many travellers. The merchants too say that they have received written communications to this effect. I have briefly recorded what I have heard on the subject.

And profits o the merchants.

Intimates also that Arunachala Mudali and others were conducted as prisoners to Tanjore.

Preparations for defence at Negapatam.

Friday, 27th May 1746, or 17th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—At 9 this morning, I went to the Governor's

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Letter from Muhammad Kamal to Governor.

Who questions diarist regarding a certain suit.

He replies.

And objects to interference by Muhammad Kamal.

Governor directs that no reply be sent.

house. Chinna Mudali, and Madanânda Paṇḍit, were interpreting to him a letter which the latter had received from Muḥammad Kamâl. As soon as they had finished doing this, the Governor sent for me, and when I entered his presence, he asked why Muḥammad Kamâl had written to him to expedite the delivery of judgment in Suga Sing's suit. I replied: "The case has now been decided. The arbitrators have signed their names. I will bring it up when you have leisure. But why should this man write about the matter? Are we bound to make obeisance to him? He, and those like him, evidently think that a letter from them will be obeyed by us with trembling. For a bribe of ten rupees, these people will dash off a letter of recommendation. If we answer their communications, it will encourage them to flood us with more such in connection with all the suits dealt with in this town, and we shall hardly have time to transact any other business." The Governor agreed with me, and asked who this person was. I replied that he was the son of the Nawâb, by a concubine, and that he lived in a slum in Mylapore. He ordered Chinna Mudali and Madanânda Paṇḍit not to answer the letter; and when they had departed, he asked me whether the matter in which Aruṇâchalam was concerned had been disposed of. I said that the money was being realized. I next entreated him, most earnestly, to give a favorable reply in Kârikâl Tiruvêngaḍam's case. He said that as this man had

taken upon himself to swear to the falsehood of the bond given by the wife of Kastûri Rangaiyan, he was no longer fit to hold a post under the Company. He spoke of him in very angry terms indeed; as though he was smarting under the deceptions practised upon him by Tiruvêngadam. To all his objections I returned suitable explanations, and by the promise of a present I succeeded in appeasing his wrath, and in inducing him to consent to allow the man to resume his appointment. With regard to Madame Febvrier's petition as to the disposal of a quantity of paddy, I suggested his writing to M. Paradis for information. After this, I effected the release of Tiruvêngadam from custody, and had everything amicably arranged.

CHAP. XVII. — 1746. Diarist intercedes for Karikal Tiruvengadam.

Governor after some discussion consents to restore him.

Tiruvengadam released.

To-day, the Governor wrote a letter to M. Paradis.

Sunday, 29th May 1746, or 19th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, on his way from the church, where he had attended service, M. Dupleix received a petition from Piḷḷâ Cheṭṭi, the younger brother of Vêlâyuda Cheṭṭi of Lâlâpêṭṭai, who was then under detention in the house of the chief of the peons for a debt of Rs. 1,000 due to the Governor, in connection with some goods which he had purchased. After he had read the paper, he summoned Ranga Piḷḷai to his house, and asked him who Piḷḷâ Cheṭṭi was. He replied that he was a merchant of Lâlâpêṭṭai, and that he was in confinement for some arrears due by him, which he explained. The

Governor receives a petition from Pillâ Chetti.

Inquires into it.

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Sends for darist, Lazar, Arunachala Chetti and others.

Governor then directed that he, as also the petty-bazaar merchants, should be brought before him. They were accordingly produced. He then sent his mace-bearer to call me. I was at my arecanut store-house, and at once repaired to him. He instructed me to send for Lazar. When he arrived, the Governor called in Piḷḷâ Cheṭṭi, Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, and all the petty-bazaarmen. He then caused the petition to be read out, and had the contents of it explained to them. It set forth that Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi and Accountant Ranga Piḷḷai had compelled the petitioner, to take their goods, on the pretence that they were those of the Governor, that he had asked them whether a man who had come to protect them, and to dispense even-handed justice, would resort to such an oppressive measure, that they thereupon kept him out in the sun, forcibly took the goods back to their own houses, and sold them at three-quarters of the cost price, that to meet the loss thus occasioned he was obliged to dispose not only of his own goods, but also his other private property; that the total amount thus realized being insufficient, he was detained in custody, that he was an invalid and had owing to a paralytic stroke lost the power of speech, that he would die if left in prison, that, exclusive of brokerage, he had paid the two accused a bribe of 1,600 rupees, that there were witnesses . . . .*

Petition read in presence of complainant.

Accuses Arunachala Chetti and Governor's accountant of extortion.

* Blank in original.

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Monday, 30th May 1746, or 20th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—This evening at about 8, with the object of procuring the release of Tadi Arunâchalam, I went to the house of the Governor. I was informed that he was playing cards, and consequently betook myself to the arecanut storehouse, on the pial of which I sat down. I then saw two peons carrying letters from Surat to the Governor. Appu soon after informed me that a gazette and despatch from France had been received, and that the gazette was being read. I returned home pleased with the thought that there was a chance of being made acquainted with the state of affairs in Europe, and deferred to the morrow speaking to the Governor on behalf of Tadi Arunâchalam. I shall record what the contents of the letters from Surat are, after having made inquiries regarding them.

Diarist goes to Governor's house but finding him engaged returns.

Hears of receipt of gazette and despatch from France.

Defers to next day interview with Governor.

Tuesday, 31st May 1746, or 21st Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—I repaired early this morning at half-past 6 to the Governor's residence with the view of, before he dressed and went out, seeing him concerning the matter of Tadi Arunâchalam whose release I was hoping to procure by paying the Governor 1,000 pagodas. I inquired of the accountant, Ranga Pillai, whether the whole sum of Rs. 3,200 had been paid up, and whether I could report to that effect. He replied: "You may. The amount has been received in full. His release should be effected at once." I then approached and saluted the Governor, who was smoking, and at the same time reading the gazette

On following day visits Governor.

Conversation regarding release of Arunachalam.

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from France. He asked what had brought me there. I replied: "The money due by Aruṇâchalam is ready for payment. May I bring it?" He said: "In rupees?" I rejoined: "In fanams. We have the equivalent of 3,200 rupees in fanams—a rupee being reckoned as equal to eight fanams." He answered: "Then lodge the amount with my accountant." I said that I would, and requested him to set Aruṇâchalam free. He replied: "Wait. Orders will be issued. Deposit the amount with Ranga Piḷḷai." I accordingly returned to the accountant and told him that the Governor had desired me to pay the amount to him; and as this was with him already, I requested him to communicate the receipt of 3,200 rupees, in fanams, to the Governor. In the meanwhile—this being a festival day—the Governor dressed and set out for the church, to attend service there. Not being able to make the report, we two merely made our obeisances to him. He then got into a palanquin . . . *

Governor directs diarist to pay to his accountant amount due.

He pays it accordingly.

Wednesday, 1st June 1746, or 22nd Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—This morning I waited on the Governor. The sum of 1,000 pagodas, paid on behalf of Taḍi Aruṇâchalam, was remitted yesterday to the Deputy Governor M. Legou. I was therefore anxious to move the Governor to set him at liberty. But when I visited him, I found that he was in extremely low spirits, which made me, too, sad. Judging

Visits Governor to procure release of this man.

* Blank in the original.

therefore that it was not a fitting time for me to broach the subject, I retired to my arecanut storehouse. What could have been the cause of his marked depression? According to the gazette, the King of France has placed a new sovereign on the throne of England, and the old one is about to flee the country. He, moreover, has subdued all the dominions of the Queen of Hungary, with the exception of the capital, and is consequently in high spirits. The French Company represented to the King that the English Company, although it had entered into an agreement that there should be no hostilities in India between the English and French, had nevertheless sent out some men of war, and captured the French ships from China and Manilla, had in other ways caused numerous losses to the French Company, and had thereby brought discredit on the French nation. The King, greatly enraged at this, addressed a despatch to the following effect to the States of Holland, calling, at the same time, upon the Dutch ambassador to write to his master a similar message: "When war was declared between the English and us, we informed you that, in view of your intimate connection with the former, you might be prepared for hostilities with us. You then asserted that you would not favour them. On this we invited you to take our side, and fight against the English; but you declared that you would be neutral. We then asked you whether you were not at heart friendly

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But finding him much depressed, retires.

Doings of King of France as told in the gazette.

Complaint of French Company against English.

Despatch from King of France to the Dutch Government.

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Accuses Dutch of assisting English, and threatens war if restitution not made.

to the English. Your answer was, however, in the negative. When they basely took our ships, you purchased these, together with their cargoes. In what way were you warranted in doing this? Your action shows that you are attached to the interests of the English. You must either restore to us the ships and the value of their ladings, or declare war." The Company has consequently written to the Governor that the money would be recovered. Another welcome piece of news is the receipt of intelligence that ten ships from France are on their way hither. In the face of favourable reports such as these, why should he be so dejected as he is? It is difficult to account for it. Two or three circumstances occur to me, any one of which might possibly have occasioned this despondency in him. Firstly, there is the possibility of there being something prejudicial to him officially. Secondly, there was a rumour, about a month ago, that two commissioners had been appointed to investigate certain allegations of misconduct brought against him: this might possibly be the case. Thirdly, he has, without the orders of the Company or the approval of the Council, expended immense sums of money from his own purse, in collecting materials for war. All his efforts will prove fruitless if the new King of England is crowned, and an end put to the war; and it is doubtful what view the Company would then take of the expenses which he has incurred. This apprehension may possibly weigh

Fleet of ships on its way from France.

Circumstances occurring to diarist as reasons for Governor's despondency.

upon his mind. I conclude that one of these three matters must be affecting his spirits. But Heaven knows what he has actually at heart. When the ships arrive, everything will be manifest.

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Infers that one of three matters is the cause.

I went from the arecanut storehouse to the place where the wedding of the daughter of my neighbour, Sâmaiyan, was being celebrated, and returned home at about 11.

Attends a marriage.

This afternoon at about 5, Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi requested me to go with him for the purpose of inviting the son of Râjaṇṇa Cheṭṭi of Kârikâl, and the son of Dorai Bâlu Cheṭṭi of Negapatam—the two men who are to marry his daughters—to partake of food with him. I accordingly accompanied him to Sunguvâr's choultry, which is situated behind my garden-house, invited them, accepted the cloths presented to me, and reached my house at about 8.

Accompanies Seshachala Chetti on errand connected with a marriage.

Thursday, 2nd June 1746, or 23rd Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—I went this morning to the Governor's house, and took a seat in the northern verandah, where a sentinel was on guard. The Governor, as he was passing on his way to the office where M. Mathieu was making up accounts, saw me, and called out: "Rangappa; come here." I went up, and saluted him. He at once asked me if I had heard the news from Europe. I replied: "Sir, the intelligence which I have received may be partly true, and partly untrue. If you condescend to enlighten me, I shall hear nothing but correct news." He said that as it was all in the gazette, it must by

Goes to the residence of the Governor.

Who calls him up, and asks if he has heard the news from Europe.

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whomsoever imparted to me be true. He then related to me the following with regard to the Kings of England :—

Relates to him outline of story of English Revolution.

In 1648, the paternal grandfather of the man who now claims to be king was King of England. Troubles then began, and a dispute occurred between him and the nation. The people rose in rebellion, and beheaded their ruler. An individual, name unknown, who was a country gentleman, was appointed to succeed him, and as the sons of the beheaded monarch, and the father of the man who now sets himself up as king, were both young, they hid themselves in another country. Such being the state of affairs, the king who at present occupies the throne oppressed the people of Scotland and Ireland, and plundered them of all their wealth. This he did with a view to enrich and strengthen his own country. The merchants of both Scotland and Ireland being impoverished by his exactions, took counsel together; and sent a message to the sons of the beheaded king, who were in concealment elsewhere, inviting them to come over to their own country with an armed force, and promising to assist them to the crown, by dethroning the then king. Thereupon, these people repaired to the King of France, and made him acquainted with all their affairs. He took them under his protection. He afterwards wrote secretly to the merchants of Scotland and Ireland, and secured their help. They were all waiting for a good opportunity.

Then refers to circumstances leading to Scottish Rebellion.

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Mentions war regarding succession to the Austrian throne.

Prior to this, the Emperor of Austria had died. He left no son to succeed him. His daughter, the Queen of Hungary, however, seized all the dominions of the empire. The Duke of Bavaria who, in the absence of a son, claimed the throne as the heir of the deceased Emperor, sought the help of the King of France, and agreed if he would help him to become Emperor, to deliver Flanders, which lies next to Holland, into his hands. With the assistance of 60,000 soldiers, furnished to him by the King of France, the Duke of Bavaria advanced with his own army, deposed the Queen of Hungary, and became Emperor. The Queen of Hungary was provoked at the conduct of the King of France, because he had helped the Duke with 60,000 of his troops, and was instrumental in making him Emperor, and she accordingly declared war against France.

Part taken by the English in this.

Whilst the war between her and the French was in progress, the English sent troops to aid the former. As these then fought against those of France, the king of that country became enraged, and declared war against England.

Consequent war with French, and capture of Jamaica, etc.

The French took possession of Jamaica, which was the source to the English of a revenue of six or seven crores,* and further captured various cities and towns in the dominions of the English. The King of France also incited the claimant to the English throne to

* Crore = 10 millions; no doubt here of rupees.

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start on his contemplated expedition, and assisted him with troops. The latter proceeded with his undertaking, the merchants and other inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland coming forward to receive him, and treating him with all the respect due to kings. They made him the ruler of their country, and fought against the King of England, whose capital is London. Thereupon, some people in London sent a message to the recently arrived king declaring that they were ready to obey him.

Preparations for flight of reigning king.

Taking into consideration all these things, the then occupant of the English throne arrived at the conclusion that he had no prospect of success, and gathering together all his effects, he made ready to retreat to where he had previously resided. The setting in of winter has interrupted military operations. As this communication was written at that time it is not now exactly known whether he has succeeded in making his escape, or has fallen into the hands of his enemies.

Dutch protected by English.

As there is no King of Holland, the people of that country have put themselves under the protection of the King of England, and have been assisting the English, in this time of trouble, with men and money. The Dutch have thus been carrying on their government with the help of England. The new king was not countenanced by them: they retained their allegiance to the old one, and took the necessary precautions to hinder the former being installed on the throne. The affairs of the

Dutch will therefore not run so smoothly as before, and their country will gradually fall into decay. Moreover, their power has been crippled for the territory of the Emperor which borders on Holland has been occupied by the French, who have also seized many of the possessions of the English. As the Dutch ships bound for Holland will necessarily have to pass the shores of Flanders, along which are forts garrisoned by French soldiers, they will at once be captured. Being thus beset with dangers and difficulties on all sides, the Dutch are dispirited, and feel that their power is declining.

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Decline of their power.

The gazette further states that the King of France has seized all the possessions of the Queen of Hungary, with the exception of her capital, and that, having regard to his various conquests, there is no other king in Europe enjoying so much glory, renown, and happiness as he does.

Gazette eulogises King of France.

The gazette, too, says: "Five vessels—three being the property of the French Company trading to China, one belonging to M. de la Bourdonnais and returning from that country, and the last one from Manilla, were captured by the English, taken by them to Batavia, and sold to the Dutch. This was made by the Company the subject of a complaint to the King of France, and it further took exception to the conduct of the English in the East, in capturing French ships. The king was enraged, and sent an ambassador to the Dutch with instructions to deliver the following ultimatum: 'You promised us not to

Refers to capture of French ships by English.

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And subsequent ultimatum to Dutch who purchased them.

aid the English. How, then, when they captured certain vessels of ours, and brought them to you for sale, could you knowingly have purchased them? We demand immediate payment of the value of the China ships, the outlay incurred in that country for the cargoes, the profit which would probably have been realized by the sale of these in France, and the charges for establishment, etc. connected therewith; as well as the restoration of the treasure laden in the Manilla ship, together with her value, and the expenses incurred in connection therewith. If our request is not complied with immediately after communication of it by our ambassador, we declare war.' " Thus there is every hope of the money shipped from China and Manilla being regained.

Probability of an amicable settlement.

"In such terms," said the Governor to me, "the gazette recounts the political events of Europe." I have written down briefly, and in a few words, what appeared to me the most interesting parts of his story. When he had completed his narrative, I told him that because the English had behaved to the dissatisfaction of the French here, God had prepared exceeding trouble for them at the very fountain-head in Europe. I further expressed myself in terms calculated to please and conciliate him. He was gratified, and spoke disparagingly of the English. He asked, what would be the fate of the English ships of war, which had been making so much fuss, and domineering here, with what confidence those who manned them could cruise on these

Conversation with Governor regarding news communicated by him.

His remarks concerning English.

seas, and how they proposed to return to Europe. I struck in with him, and repeated to the echo his taunts regarding the English. My words infused vast joy into the heart of the Governor, who dwelt on the history of France. He explained to me the constitutional history of England, and told me that the King of that country possesses no power, and has to be subject to and obey the mandates of the English Parliament, that as he is thus devoid of authority, once every forty or forty-five years the reigning sovereign is deposed, and another raised to the throne, and that this is the law obtaining in the English kingdom. Upon this I said to the Governor: "During your life-time you have seen the deposition of one king, and the accession of another, and now the second monarch is deposed, and the son of the former ruler has come to the throne." "Such things," I continued, "happen because the reigning sovereign has no semblance of power; all of which is exercised by the Parliament, which can at will depose one king, and raise another to the throne." "It is true," remarked the Governor; "during the last 200 years this has happened five times." "You have told me these many things," said I to him, "and now please inform me, when the ships from France are expected here, as I am in the dark regarding this." He smiled, made a gesture with his hand as if to stop my speaking, and took a pace or two. "Sir," I continued, "your discourse has all this time filled my ears with delight, and my

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Governor explains the position of the King of England as regards the people.

Conversation regarding this.

Diarist inquires when ships from France are expected.

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soul with rapture. If you would but tell me good news as to when the ships are to be looked for, I could know no greater joy." On hearing me express myself thus, the Governor turned round, and said: "In seven or eight days more they will arrive, and your heart will be made glad." After this, he told me that he required a horse for presentation to a great man, and desired me to buy him one. I said that I would, and seeing that this was a fit opportunity, preferred a request for the release from custody of Tadi Arunâchalam. To this he replied: "Rangappa; look at this petition. It was written by Venkatêsa Aiyan, against Tadi Arunâchalam. So many accusations having been made, how can I set him free?" I rejoined: "It was only yesterday that he paid the fine of 1,000 pagodas to the Company. That was imposed as a punishment on him, solely for all these offences. Be pleased, therefore, to make no further objection, and direct that he be set free." The Governor answered: "This man and Arumpâtai went to work together; the former, when employed under the cashier, plundered the Company; and the latter, when under the warehouse-keeper, did the like, with the connivance of the Brâhmans in charge. Thus, between them, they have defrauded the Company of nearly a lakh of pagodas. Can they not pay 4,000 or 5,000?" I said: "They are your slaves, and will remain so. They will do as you desire. But on this occasion, please order his release." The Governor told me that on my account he consented

Governor informs him.

Diarist again moots release of Arunachalam.

Governor demurs.

But finally consents as a personal favour.

to the discharge of Tadi Aruṇâchalam, and forthwith directed that he should be set at liberty. I thereupon sent word to the chief of the peons to release the man, and this was accordingly done. I afterwards summoned Muruga Pillai, accountant of the court, and directed him to remove the attachment on the house and property of Tadi Aruṇâchalam.

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1746.

Chief of peons reports to Governor condition of family of absconding Pathan.

In the evening, the chief of the peons went to the Governor, and reported that as the Paṭhân named Jânû Khân, the defendant in the suit brought by Sa'âdat Khân, another Paṭhân, had fled, his wife and children, who were in confinement, had been for the last twenty days suffering for want of food, that the horse belonging to the man was being starved to death, as the money to feed the animal was not forthcoming, that there were no funds to pay the monthly wages of 18 fanams to the person who had been deputed to watch the defendant's house, and that the individuals imprisoned had no means of defraying these expenses. The Governor, thereupon, ordered that they should be released. He afterwards sent for me, and desired me to purchase for him, at a favourable price - without however mentioning his name—the horse of the absconding Paṭhân. I promised to do so, and took leave.

Who order their release.

Desires diarist to privately purchase for him horse of the Pathan.

Letters and despatch from France.

As I was talking with the Governor, two couriers arrived from Surat with a despatch from France, and letters addressed to some of the Europeans, the contents of which have not yet been made known.

CHAP. XVII. — 1746. Governor inquires of diarist why there are no transactions in arecanuts.

This morning, the Governor inquired how areca-nuts were selling. I told him that they were being disposed of at Cuddalore at five pagodas an avaṇam.* He asked me how it was that merchants did not come to buy them. I said that I had not inquired regarding the matter. Thereupon, he sent for the official accountants, and ordered them to make it known to the toll collectors that, in future, no one should bring areca-nuts from Cuddalore. He sent also for the bazaarmen, and told them, through the same officials, that as there was a misunderstanding between him and the English, no one should bring areca-nuts, or other goods, from English territory, and sell them in Pondichery. He also summoned Râmachandra Aiyan, the accountant of the sea customs office, and enjoined on him that if any one should import areca-nuts from Cuddalore, or from the south, he should tell them that they were not allowed to land such goods here, but must take them back; and he gave strict orders that henceforth these nuts should not be brought from foreign places.

Forbids import of goods from British territory.

Gives strict orders to custom-house officials on the subject.

Exodus of people for Villiya-nallûr festival.

Friday, 3rd June 1746, or 24th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—All the inhabitants of the town, with the exception of one or two in each house, repaired to Villiyanallûr, to attend the car-festival there. Consequently, all the streets looked deserted.

* Avaṇam = 20,000 areca-nuts.

Judging from the order of the Governor prohibiting the importation of areca-nuts from Cuddalore, two of my supposed causes for his dejection in spite of the happy news in the gazette from France do not exist. His tenure of office is evidently not affected, and the report circulated two months ago of the appointment of two commissioners, to inquire into his administration here is likewise without foundation. Whether his fear that the whole of the outlay incurred on account of the equipment for military purposes may be thrown upon his shoulders was the actual cause is not yet clear. The progress of events will reveal the truth.

CHAP. XVII. — 1746. Further speculations of diarist on cause of dejection of Governor.

Wednesday, 8th June 1746, or 29th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.—The following occurred to-day. There was a car-festival in honour of the local deity of the followers of Vishṇu. The car, after having passed through the Grand Bazaar road, was being drawn along Tambi Nayinâr's street, in which, as it approached the house of Perumâḷ Nâyakkan, the umbrella attached to the summit of it came in contact with a cocoanut tree, and collapsed; but before it fell, people laid hold of it from below. This incident however evoked general apprehension amongst the townsmen—spectators as well as others—who believed that it portended some calamity to the town, or something untoward either to their ruler, or to the authorities of it, or to the Nawâb of the Subah of Arcot ; or that some accident would occur to the temple itself. The interpretations

Accident to car at festival of local deity.

Regarded as portent of evil.

CHAP. XVII. — 1746. Marriages of daughters of Seshachala Chetti.

were in this way, diverse. Heaven alone knows what will happen.

Thursday, 8th June 1746, or 30th Vaigâsi of Akshaya.*—The record concerning this day is as follows. The marriages of two daughters of Sêshâchala Chetti took place, during one and the same Muhûrtam,† between the 12th and 15th Indian hour, on Saturday night last, 25th Vaigâsi [4th June]. The husband of one girl was the son of one Râjanna Chetti of Tirumalairâyanpattanam, and that of the other was the son of one Bâlu Chetti of Madura, a resident of Negapatam. But as the two weddings were performed during the same Muhûrtam, the expenses were much curtailed, that is, they were within . . . ‡ pagodas. At 6 this evening, M. Dupleix, his wife, M. Dubois, Madame d'Espréménil, M. Lhostis, and Madame Cornet, came to the wedding, occupied seats for half an Indian hour, then went into the reception room, visited the brides and bridegrooms, returned to the leaf pavilion, sat down at the refreshment table, and ate some sweets; and having remained another half an Indian hour, took leave. On their arrival, twenty-one guns were fired; and there was a similar salute when they took their seats, when they sat down to refreshments,

Governor, wife and others attend.

* *Sic* in original, evidently an error for 9th.

† An auspicious hour astrologically fixed for a marriage, laying the foundation of a building, etc.

‡ Blank in the original.

when they rose, and when they departed. When the Governor arrived, a present was given privately, viz., Rs. 1,000 to him and Rs. 100 to his wife. But in the pavilion, only betel, nut, flowers, and rose-water, were presented to them.

CHAP. XVII.

1746.

Presents to M. and Me. Dupleix.

Saturday, 11th June 1746, or 1st Âni of Akshaya.—At 6 this morning, Sêshâchala Chetti came to me and said: "Let us go to the Governor, and obtain leave for the procession to take place. We must also apply to him for permission for a salute of seven guns, and for a present of cloths to be made on the occasion of the visit to him during the course of the procession of the newly-married couples." I thereupon remarked: "You no doubt celebrated marriages in your house during the days of M. Beauvollier, M. Lenoir, and M. Dumas. Did they then allow salutes to be fired?" He replied: "There was a marriage in the days of M. Lenoir, but he was visited at night, and consequently there was no salute. But M. Dumas, when he was Governor, authorized the firing of one." I rejoined: "As far as I recollect, pipes and drums were played beside the palanquin during the conduct of the procession you refer to, and when the couples reached the Governor, he made them a gift of cloths, but no salute was fired." He repeated: "Once in M. Dumas' time, guns were fired." I then said: "We will go to the Governor, and explain this to him clearly." We accordingly went to the Governor at about 7,

Seshachala Chetti visits diarist.

Seeks his influence in obtaining certain honours during marriage ceremonies.

Conversation on the subject.

They repair to Governor.

CHAP. XVII. 1746.

when he had dressed, and was seated in the drawing room. Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Karuttambi Nayinâr, and I, greeted him there. Addressing me, he said: "What has brought you all here?" I replied: "Sungu Râman wishes to arrange for a procession, for which he seeks your permission." He said: "Let him proceed with it." I made answer: "He requests that when the bridegrooms and brides repair hither they should be received with suitable honours." He asked: "What may these be?" I replied: "He wishes that a salute should be fired." He then said: "Is there a precedent?" I answered: "He states that M. Dumas accorded that honour. But my recollection is that the playing in the procession of drums and pipes alongside the palanquin was permitted, and that when the pair reached the Governor's house, a present of cloths was made. But I do not know what further took place." The Governor upon this exclaimed: "After my arrival here, there was a marriage in Kanakarâya Mudali's house, for which no salute was authorized. Besides, these are the days of war, and the permission sought cannot be given. Do not mention such a thing as the firing of cannon in these disturbed times." I communicated what he said to Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti. The latter then conveyed to me how much the grant of the favour would contribute to his exaltation, and honour. When the Governor was made acquainted with the views of Sêshâchala Chetti, he ejaculated: "Why this ostentatious display in

State that Seshachala Chetti desires permission for marriage procession.

And for a salute on the occasion;

Governor refuses latter.

Seshachella Chetti persisting in his requests excites anger of Governor.

Chap. XVII.

1746.

Consents to make certain presents to the brides and bridegrooms.

his present circumstances? The discharge of his obligations to the Company, and the settlement of accounts with his partners would be of more honour to him." I then requested that permission might be accorded for the use of drums and pipes, and that the two bridegrooms might each be presented with four yards of broad-cloth, and the brides with a cloth and bodice each. He replied: "Well: there is broad-cloth with me. You had better procure for me the other two articles of dress." Promising to do this, I returned to Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi, and without communicating the other remarks made, told him that the Governor had based his refusal on the precedent of the marriage in Kanakarâya Mudali's house, and requested him to pay his respects, and come away. He accordingly saluted the Governor with an obeisance, and retired. I also took leave. Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi and I then repaired to my areca-nut storehouse, where I told him to proceed with the necessary arrangements for the procession, and said that the visit to the Governor should be at 7 in the evening. I next instructed Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi to send for a couple of women's cloths, and two bodices. Sîtâ Venkaṭâchala Cheṭṭi brought them from Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi's own house; the former costing five, and the latter two pagodas, apiece. The bridegrooms and brides will receive to-night, from the hands of the Governor, eight yards of broad-cloth and a couple of sets of women's apparel, including a pair of bodices.

Arrangements regarding procession, and gifts to be made by Governor.

CHAP. XVII. — 1746.

Diarist hands some of gifts to Governor's accountant.

This night at 8, the bridegrooms and brides from Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti's house paid a visit to the Governor. An hour before this, I summoned Accountant Ranga Piḷḷai to my areca-nut store-house, made over to him the two silk-cloths and bodices purchased for the Governor, and asked him whether he had broad-cloth. He replied that he had none with him, and that he did not know whether the Governor had any in his possession. He then delivered the articles to Diego, who advised the Governor of their receipt. He thereupon summoned me, and as soon as I entered, and had saluted him, he observed: "You have not sent for broad-cloth from the magazine at the fort." I replied: "When I asked you this morning whether I might bring for your signature an order directing the supply of it, you said that the article was here, and that no indent need be made." On this he desired me to have one prepared addressed to M. Cornet. I then sent for M. Mathieu, told him to make out an order, obtained the signature of the Governor, and sent it to the fort. But M. Cornet, on receiving it, said that it was hard on 8 o'clock then, and that the cloth would be supplied next morning. When Appu communicated this to the Governor, he was directed to inform me, which he did. Thereupon I sent for Aruṇâchala Chetti, bade him bring a bale of broad-cloth, tore off a piece of nine yards, divided this into halves, and put them up. Before they could be delivered, the procession had passed Uttirâ Peddu Chetti's house in

Delay arises from difficulty in procuring broad-cloth for presentation.

the Old Madras Gate street; and accompanied by tom-toms, cymbals, and torches, as also a couple of drums and a pipe, played by Europeans, stood facing the Governor's house. Seeing that the broad-cloth had not yet arrived, I sent word to Sêshâchala Chetti, to lead the procession on to the main road in which Nainiya Pillai's house lies, opposite to the temple of Vêdapuri Îswaran, and to proceed to the Governor's residence by the road to the eastward, which runs parallel to the sea. The procession accordingly passed the Deputy Governor's house, then entered the lane between the Government house and that of M. Barthélemy, and reached the Governor's residence. By this time, Arunâchala Chetti had brought the broad-cloth required for presentation. I then repaired to the Governor, and informed him that the broad-cloth and other articles were ready. He asked me whether I had procured the former from my own house. I answered in the affirmative. The bridegrooms and brides, who had come in procession, alighted and presented themselves before the Governor who, in company with some other Europeans, was standing behind his wife, and saluted him. He and the lady addressed a few congratulatory words to the newly-married couples, presented them with betel, nut, rose-water, and some perfumed powder, made a gift of the nine yards of broad-cloth, the couple of women's cloths and the bodices, as already mentioned, wished them well, and bade them live in happiness; after which the

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Procession proceeds to Governor's residence.

Bridal party pays its respects to Governor and wife.

Receives presents and expression of good wishes and retires.

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married pairs took leave. The procession then went on to my house, where I also made some presents, and finally returned home at 10 o'clock.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM JUNE 12TH, 1746, TO JUNE 20TH, 1746.

Diarist backs bond for M. de Bausset—Who mentions fitting out of a squadron by M. de la Bourdonnais—Sloop *Élisabeth* attacked by English—M. de la Bourdonnais expected at Pondichery on 30th June—Conversation with M. de Bausset regarding appointment to chief dubâshship—He requests mention of a certain matter to Chinna Mudali—Diarist goes to the Governor's residence—Sees there Chinna Mudali, who mentions seizure of certain precious stones—Reply of Governor when return of these requested—Madanânda Pandit demands present for intervention with the Governor—Conversation with Gôpâla Aiyangâr regarding certain marriages—Remarks of diarist—Difference between opposite factions at a festival—Conversation with Venkaṭa Dîkshatar touching his private affairs—Diarist attends a marriage—Non-arrival of ships considered a divine punishment—Ship sighted—Proves to be only a coaster—Conversation with MM. Bruyères and Desmarêts—What they said—Subsequent conversation—A bullock strays on to the ramparts—Officer of the guard seizes it—Refuses to restore it—Causes it to be shot for food—Matter reported to Governor—Who causes inquiry—Officer imprisoned—Value of animal recovered from him—Remarks as to surprise caused by action of Governor—Diarist receives letter from dubâsh of Governor of Fort St. David—Its contents—These communicated to Governor—Diarist accuses his agent of embezzlement—Altercation with him—Boxes his ears, and imprisons him—Remarks regarding the delinquent, and his ingratitude—His present position attributed to retributive justice of Heaven—Indisposition of Governor—Letter from a spy at Mylapore—States that Governor of Madras has requested seizure of all French subjects there—Governor of Pondichery addresses a remonstrance to Husain Ṣâḥib Ṭâhir—Formal celebration of Holy Eucharist—Governor continues indisposed—Directs diarist to speedily dispose of suit of Suga Sing—Chinna Mudali interferes—Silenced by diarist—Why Governor mentioned the suit of Suga Sing—He calls on diarist to provide money required by Husain Ṣâḥib—Diarist reminds him of letter from Fort St. David—He gives instructions as to reply—Shows some pearls to diarist—Who advises him not to purchase them—Consequently returned—Governor mentions settlement of difference between French and Dutch—Subsequent conversation regarding Manilla ship—Remarks of Governor touching prospects of English and Dutch Companies—Predicts downfall of former—And of the latter—Diarist concurs.

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1746.
Diarist backs bond for M. de Bausset.

Sunday, 12th June 1746, or 2nd Âni of Akshaya.—M. de Bausset having sent for me this morning, I waited on him. He produced a bond bearing interest at 6 per cent. executed by him in favour of M. Dubois, and asked me to sign this jointly with him: I inserted in it a year's time, and affixed my signature. It was drawn up in accordance with the terms and conditions prescribed for bonds and receipts to be executed in favour of Europeans, which had effect from the year Akshaya [1746], and may be regarded as a clear illustration of these. M. de Bausset then gave me the following news: "Five ships left Europe in Âvaṇi [August] last year, and arrived at Mascareigne on the 3rd February 1746 bringing orders to M. de la Bourdonnais that he should attack the English. He, thereupon fitted out the recent arrivals and other ships for hostilities, made all other preparations, and sent in advance intimation to M. Dupleix that he would reach Pondichery on 30th May. This advice he despatched by the sloop *Élisabeth*, which had arrived at Mascareigne some time before the ships bearing the news of war. She reached Kârikâl a month and-a-half ago, and after delivery of the letter, left to return to Mascareigne. As she was proceeding on her voyage along the eastern coast, and had passed Vêdâraṇiyam, she was encountered and surrounded by English men-of-war. On this, the crew immediately ran their sloop on shore and burnt her. It was through them that the speedy

Who mentions the fitting out of squadron by M. de la Bourdonnais.

Élisabeth on way from Karikal to Mascareigne attacked by English.

The crew burn her, and land.

coming of the French ships became known. It is said that when the squadron arrives off the coast, the first point at which it will touch will be Kârikâl, to which it brings a few invalids. It will ship other hands in the room of those, and will also disembark boxes of silver. The landing of silver and other articles requires that Kârikâl should be strengthened against attack, and the Governor has accordingly sent for this purpose soldiers and Mahé sepoys. There can therefore be no occasion now for any delay in the arrival of the ships, and they may possibly reach that place this very hour. For the last ten days the thoughts of the Governor have been continually directed towards the sea. It is expected that on the 30th June the squadron will certainly be in the roads at Pondichery." M. de Bausset chatted with me in this manner on various topics connected with Kârikâl, and then he remarked: "How is it that the post of chief dubâsh has not yet been conferred on you." In response to this, I said: "Why should I desire the appointment? As I am, what honours do I fail to receive? I am granted torches, I am allowed a palanquin, I enjoy, far and wide, the good will of the European gentry, and indeed all marks of distinction that I could wish for are accorded to me, even when not holding office. Why then should I covet it? As long as I am in the enjoyment of the favour of you all, what is there that I lack? Moreover, there is nothing equal to the avocation of a trader." He then

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1746.

Squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais to touch first at Karikal.

Expected to reach Pondichery on 30th June.

M. de Bausset inquires why chief dubashship not yet conferred on diarist.

Who replies that he does not desire it.

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observed: "The post, indeed, is akin to the calling of a merchant. Anything additional ought to be welcome to one. Trading, of course, will continue to be your line, and your income will be enhanced by holding this office. Why then do you talk so perversely? Do not speak in this way. Why do you cast aside what comes to you unsought? There is at present no one so competent as yourself. If there was any individual amongst the Christians who could command the confidence of the public, the situation would, no doubt, be offered to him. But as matters stand, the Christians of this city are all paupers, and are of such condition that people are scarcely inclined to give them even alms. Chinna Mudali is unfit for the post, and it was decided, even in the days of M. Dumas, that neither amongst the Christians, nor the Hindus, is there any person so well qualified as yourself to hold the place. M. Dupleix, too, has expressed himself in like terms as to your merits. The members of the Council—one and all—are praying God that the appointment may be given to you, for your conduct has so commended itself to them that they have entire confidence that in the event of your securing it, all their business will be most skilfully managed. Furthermore, in a despatch from the Governor and Council sent to the Company by the ship which left Tranquebar for Europe at the end of Mâsi [beginning of March] last, it was reported, in connection with the vacancy caused by Pedro's death,

M. de Bausset urges him to accept the appointment.

Advances reasons in favour of his doing so.

that none of the members of his family, such as his younger brother, etc., or indeed any one of the whole Christian community, was fit for the office. The despatch proceeded to say that there were, however, one or two of the Hindus duly qualified, but that they had not applied, and owing to the Company's trade being now at a stand-still, hardly cared for the post. It was couched in general terms of this nature, and purported to seek instructions in the matter. But what the Governor wrote confidentially to the Company is not known. If, in view of your inability to procure the sum required for a private gift to him--as all your money is outstanding—another be appointed, some of the Councillors will not hesitate to decline to be parties to such an arrangement. In my opinion, the place cannot but fall to you. In the absence of the trade-ships, business is at present slack, and probably the appointment is kept in abeyance pending their arrival." Then he said: "I borrowed 200 pagodas from Kanakarâya Mudali; I have repaid the amount, but forgot to take back the bond; I have mentioned this to Chinna Mudali; please inform him." I said that I would attend to his request, and took leave of him.

Chap. XVIII. — 1746. States contents of despatch to the Company regarding the vacancy.

Expresses opinion as to result of appointing another.

Requests mention of a certain matter to Chinna Mudali.

When I went from M. de Bausset's to the Governor's residence, I found Chinna Mudali, Madanânda Pandit, and others, assembled there . . .*

Diarist goes to Government House.

* Blank in the original.

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1746.

He visits M. de Bausset and then goes to Governor's house.

Monday, 13th June 1746, or 3rd Âni of Akshaya.—This morning, as desired by M. Dubois, I went to M. de Bausset, and after conversing with him, reached Governor's residence at half-past 9. I found there Tânappa Mudali, Madanânda Paṇḍit, Krishṇaiyan the Hasty, Gôpâlaiyan, and several others. I sat down; and the first of them then said to me as follows:—

Sees there Tanappa Mudali who mentions seizure of certain precious stones.

"Five or six days ago, some Guzerâtis brought a letter from Maḥfuz K͟hân which stated that a month or forty days since, a parcel of precious stones belonging to a Guzerâti merchant of Madras was being conveyed to Negapatam, that this, which belonged to one Gôvardhana Dâs, was seized at Kârikâl, and it asked that the return of the packet might be ordered. When this was reported to the Governor, he made no reply, and we thought that he consented to the request made. But he told us, to-day, to write an answer to Maḥfuz K͟hân, as follows: 'When a boat full of rice belonging to merchants of our town arrived at Cuddalore, the people there seized it. We wrote to His Highness the Nawâb to order the release of it, but he took no notice of our demand. If he will now address the Government of Madras, and obtain the restoration of our property, we will return the parcel of precious stones.' A letter is accordingly being despatched in these terms."

And reply of Governor when return of these requested.

There were about ten Guzerâti men waiting for the restoration of the packet. It appears that when

the letter of Mahfuz Khân was communicated to the Governor, he said nothing with regard to it, and Madanânda Pandit, who read it, inferred from this that he had given his consent. He thereupon, after consultation with Chinna Mudali, told the Guzerâtis that they must give him a present for interesting himself with the Governor on their behalf, and also one to M. Dupleix for according his consent. The Guzerâtis apparently agreed to do this. But the Governor ordered a letter to be written in the terms mentioned, and I have heard that when the subject of a gift was mentioned to him, he would not listen to the proposal.

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1746.

Madananda Pandit demands present for intervention with Governor.

From the Governor's residence, I went to a marriage at the house of the Brâhman assayer employed at Madras, near the Madras gate. From there, I went home. At 4 in the afternoon, I went to my Brâhman village. Some fifteen days ago, the tank there was cleaned; two days afterwards the water in it was muddy; now it was said that it was clear; I went just to see if this was true or not. I was glad to find that the water was quite clean and clear. I met there Venkata Dîkshatar; he told me that he had learnt from Gôpâla Aiyangâr that the marriage of one Venkata Rao, the last son of Âdakki Srînivâsa Pandit, had been concluded. I then asked Gôpâla Aiyangâr * what the style of it was. He said that it was pretty good, that some 6,000 or 7,000 poor

Diarist attends a marriage.

Visits his Brahman village.

Reason for doing so.

Conversation with Gopala Aiyangar regarding a certain marriage.

* *Sic* in original.

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1746.

Account of the marriage.

Brâhmans—at the rate of 1,000 a day—had been fed at it, that garments, and women's cloths had been freely distributed to all comers, that Miyân Ṣâḥib of Utramallûr, Sêshâdri Piḷḷai,* and his younger brother, Nâchaṇṇa Piḷḷai, had come to it, with their families and children, that as the festival of the month of Vaigâsi [June], that is, Garuḍa Sêrvai, and the marriage fell on the same day, some of the relatives came for it, and others for the festival, though the report was that all came for the former. Further, that amongst the Brâhmans there were some highly religious persons of the Tattuvâdi class,† each with a chombu,‡ that on their account there was an increase in expenses, that 1,500 pagodas were spent in alms alone, that in addition to these charges, the marriage ceremonies of one Dhanukkôṭṭi, the son of Bhîma Rao Paṇḍit, the younger brother of Srînivâsa Paṇḍit were also performed, that, this wedding, too, was a pretty large one, that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib gave Rs. 1,000 towards the expenses, that Sâiyid 'Alî Khân also gave a certain sum, that Miyân Ṣâḥib contributed 200 pagodas, that the rest was his own money, and that the ceremony, on the whole, was an imposing one. I then observed: "Srînivâsa Paṇḍit possesses a remarkably munificent spirit, and is never niggardly as some are. Few acquire

And of another held at the same time.

Remarks of diarist on hearing these.

* This was apparently the father-in-law of Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai.

† Called also *mark-bearing Brâhmans.* Their title is Paṇḍit or Rao.

‡ A small metal-pot usually of copper or brass, used as a drinking cup.

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credit as he does by spending, when opportunities offer, money with discretion. Does not liberality betoken a good heart?"

Differences between opposite factions at a festival.

Gôpâla Aiyangâr continued: "There was a difference between the Kammâḷars * and the Kavarais on the seventh day. This hindered the drawing of the car; and the festival was resumed only on the night of the eighth day, after communication with Sampâti Rao at Arcot, and receipt of instructions from him; both factions having then acquiesced in the conduct of the procession in the manner obtaining at Kumbakôṇam."

Conversation with Venkata Dikshatar concerning his private affairs.

After this, Venkaṭa Dîkshatar conducted me inside the house, where he said to me: "The mother of one of the women who brought a suit against me about seven or eight years back, came here, and asked for my sister. On being informed by some one that she had left this long ago, she made inquiries concerning my affairs." I replied: "Be the purpose of her visit what it may, you know the character of the present Governor. He would not be satisfied that the case was one adjudicated on and settled in the days of M. Dumas. He would first put you in close confinement, without even permitting you to go out for your meals, and would not release you until he had ascertained the facts, and

Diarist warns him to be careful.

* The Kammâḷars form the Goldsmith caste, and are one of the "left hand" faction. The Kavarais, known also as Balijas, are the trading caste of the Telugus, and belong to the "right hand." Quarrels on questions of religious observances are common between these two great divisions of the Hindu community.

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satisfied himself that you were destitute, and without means, and this he would do only after you had been put to a deal of trouble. If you therefore leave this to-morrow for the marriage, instead of doing so three days hence, we shall see what will happen."

On way home diarist encounters violent squall.

After paying my respects to my priest, who was waiting for me in the street, I took leave of him, got into my palanquin, and proceeded on my way back to my house. On the road I was overtaken by a squall of wind from the west, the violence of which I can hardly describe; and it was half-past 7 when I arrived at the gate of the city. Here I was met by some persons who invited me to a marriage at the house of Annapûrṇa Aiyan, where the ceremony was just about to be performed. In response to their invitation, I went there, attended the wedding, and returned home at 9.

Attends a marriage.

Nothing remarkable has been heard in the town. The eyes of all here are fixed upon the sea looking for the appearance of the tradeships. The non-arrival of these is a divine punishment for the manifold vices of the townsfolk. But He knoweth that they can endure the strain no longer, and I trust that He will look upon them with compassion, and restore them to happiness. But His mind is impenetrable and we, His creatures, will only be granted what is in accordance with our deserts.

Non-arrival of trade ships considered a divine punishment for vices of townsfolk.

A ship sighted.

Tuesday, 14th June 1746, or 4th Âni of Akshaya.—This morning at 7, a flag was hoisted as a signal that a ship had been sighted in the southern

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quarter. The Governor, who had gone full of joy to the terrace of his house to look at her, received intelligence by a catamaran which had been despatched to her that she belonged to Hasan Marakkâyan, and was on her way from Porto Novo to Merkâṇam, to obtain a cargo of salt. When the note containing this information was read to the Governor, he retired moodily to his house.

Proves to be only a coaster.

As I was in the areca-nut storehouse, M. Bruyères, who is a member of Council and Attorney of the King, passed by, accompanied by M. Desmarêts; and stepping up to me, inquired the news of the day. "What is there," said I, "but the universal cry for the arrival of the trade-ships." Upon this they acquainted me with the following intelligence, which they said that they had heard from M. de Bausset yesterday, viz., that the Governor had received advice that the squadron had reached Mascareigne on 3rd February; that it was likely to be here on 30th May; and that he had been required to have in readiness some goods and food-stuffs. They observed that there would be no further delay, and that the ships would undoubtedly arrive in the roads within ten days. They then inquired why I had not yet been appointed to the Company's courtiership; knowing as they did, that the Governor had already addressed the Directors concerning me, by the ship which had sailed for France from Tranquebar. I told them that I preferred to remain a merchant, and that there was nothing so very

Conversation with MM. Bruyères and Desmarêts.

They give him news of expected squadron.

Ask diarist why he has not yet been appointed Company's courtier.

Conversation on the subject.

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exalted about the position. They however expressed their belief that the delay in the matter was either due to my failure to pay money, or to the slackness of business owing to the non-arrival of the ships, and they observed that as the Directors had been advised of my appointment, it could not be revoked, and conferred upon another. I then stated that the Governor had not communicated to me anything on the subject, and that I was far from being solicitous regarding it.

There is nothing else worthy of note this day.

A bullock strays on to the ramparts.

Wednesday, 15th June 1746, or 5th Âni of Akshaya. —A bullock belonging to Venkaṭâchala Aiyan, of Trichinopoly, which was straying near the northern Madras gate, took fright at the sight of some Europeans, and sprang on to the ramparts. The officer at the gate, a young man named Changeac, seized the animal, and refused to give it up. This news was communicated to me by one of Venkaṭâchala Aiyan's men, and Krimâsi Paṇḍit. I asked the latter whether the officer had disregarded what he, also, said. He replied: "Just as the bullock was caught, I by chance went to the spot, and there a report of the matter was made to me by all these men. I then pressed the officer to restore the beast to its owner, but he persistently refused. It does not look as if he would part with it unless you speak a word to the Governor on the subject." I rejoined: "This is a very trifling affair, and one not worth my intervention. You had better represent the

The officer of the guard seizes it.

Conversation with Krimasi Pandit on the subject.

matter to M. de Bury." Assenting to this, he went to that gentleman, and stated what had taken place. M. de Bury thereupon spoke to the captain of the guard at the court-house, and despatched an East Indian to the officer at the Madras gate, to ask him to release the bullock. But the latter sent word in reply that he would not do so. M. de Bury then sent M. Courblan, a European, to repeat the request, with which the officer again declined to comply. He then sent word to him that unless he restored the animal, he would be made to pay double its value. He also sent a note to him through Krimâsi Paṇdit, who transmitted it by a peon. On perusing this, the officer ordered that the bullock should be shot with a pistol, and its flesh dressed and served up as food. He also handed to the messenger a reply for delivery to M. de Bury. Venkaṭâchala Aiyan's men communicated to Krimâsi Paṇdit the order issued by the officer, and also furnished me with the information. The peon presented the answer of the officer to M. de Bury who, after reading it, merely bade him depart. On hearing this, I told Krimâsi Paṇdit to intimate what had happened to the Governor, as though he was doing so of his own motion. Accordingly, taking the chief of the peons, and Chinna Mudali, along with him, he made a full report to the Governor, mentioning in detail all the facts recorded above. The Governor asked him who the Brâhman was. Krimâsi Paṇdit replied: "He is said to have come from Trichinopoly to Ranga Piḷḷai. It is, on

Matter reported to M. de Bury.

Who sends request for release.

This refused.

Officer causes animal to be shot for food.

Krimasi Pandit reports matter to Governor.

Conversation on the subject.

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this account, that Ranga Piḷḷai has interested himself so much in the matter, and has sought the interference of M. de Bury, and that the latter has communicated with the officer five or six times."

Governor orders an inquiry.

The Governor then summoned M. Duquesne, and said something to him, on which he proceeded to the north gate, and spoke to the officer there. He found that the animal had been slaughtered, and that the ground was covered with its blood. The Governor, on receipt, at 5 o'clock, of intimation of this, ordered that the officer should be committed to custody in the fort, that another should be detailed in his stead at the gate, and that the value of the bullock should be recovered from the delinquent. It was a surprise to everybody that he should have interfered so actively. One may naturally ask: "Why? What reason is there for astonishment? It was surely a matter which called for investigation." The fact is that heretofore the Governor has neglected to institute inquiries such as these, with the result that the soldiers and other Europeans have freely indulged in outrages, and have acted in defiance of all law. The prompt investigation of the offence has therefore evoked the universal surprise that it has.

Officer placed in confinement.

Value of animal recovered from him.

Remarks as to surprise caused by action of Governor.

Diarist receives letter from dubash of Governor of Fort St. David.

I received a letter to-day from Rangappa Nâyakkan, the dubâsh of Mr. Hinde, Governor of Fort St. David. In it he mentioned that his master had bidden him write to me to communicate to the Governor, on his behalf, the following message:—

"I hope that your Governor, his wife, and children, are well. Give my best compliments to him. Please ascertain from him, and let me know, whether he wishes to have Madeira or other European wine. I will send what he wants. Tell him that I have made this inquiry, and communicate to me his wishes. Please destroy this letter, so that no one else may read it."

Chap. XVIII. — 1746. Its contents.

I repaired to the Governor this evening at half-past 6. He was seated in his drawing-room, smoking, and I mentioned to him the contents of the letter, as recorded above. He said that he would give me a reply on the morrow. I then took leave of him, and went home.

These communicated to Governor.

Last night at about 11, seven or eight distant reports of cannon were heard.

Sound of cannon heard at night.

Thursday, 16th June 1746, or 6th Âni of Akshaya. —This morning, I summoned my Lâlâpêṭṭai agent Râyal Aiyan, who has been here for the last thirty or forty days, and showed him a statement with which I had been furnished, from which it appeared that he had received at Lâlâpêṭṭai about 5,000 rupees. He admitted that this was true. I then charged him with having, for his own benefit, and, without my authority, disposed of areca-nut, cotton-thread, chests of opium, and some piece-goods, and having thereby caused a loss of about 5,000 pagodas. I inquired why he had pledged opium and a quantity of piece-goods, which, in consequence, remained unsold, why he had allowed arrears to accumulate, and why he had permitted his accounts to get into

Diarist accuses his trading agent of embezzlement.

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confusion, and not adjusted the balances, thus rendering it impossible to ascertain what I owed, or what was due to me. I pointed out that owing to his remissness in keeping the accounts, and his having mixed up the outstanding arrears and the amounts borrowed on the security of goods, a sum of no less than 30,000 rupees had become difficult of adjustment. I asked him why he had refused to come for the settlement of the accounts, when I had summoned him for that purpose, and why he had spoken disrespectfully on receipt of an urgent requisition from me for money, using words such as 'he has gone mad'; and 'let him go.' He thereupon replied in an impertinent tone, which provoked me so much that I gave him four or five boxes on the ears, and ordered him to be imprisoned at the court-house. I then proceeded to my areca-nut store, where two or three men came to me, and asked that the Brâhman might be detained in the house of the chief of the peons during the day, and in the court-house by night. I accordingly sent word to the jailor to keep him under detention as requested. The fellow does not deserve to be treated with leniency; not only in view of his reckless extravagance, but also of his insolent behaviour, and of his abuse of me before the petty bazaar-keepers at Lâlâpêṭṭai. I make no doubt that this mishap to him is the work of the divine will. When his family applied to my father for protection, they were in absolutely indigent circumstances; starving

Has an altercation with him.

Boxes his ears, and imprisons him.

Nature of imprisonment relaxed.

Remarks regarding the delinquent and his ingratitude.

at times to the extent of four or five meals consecutively, lacking clothing for either man or woman, and consequently ashamed to move about in public. They are now worth 2,000 or 3,000 pagodas, lend money to the petty-bazaar merchants at Lâlâpêṭṭai, and are partners in business. Their double dealings with one to whom they owe all their affluence will surely excite the wrath of God. With what other punishments He purposes to visit the culprit, I do not know; Heaven alone does. God has placed him in his existing condition by making me the instrument for carrying out His will. What other thoughts He may later on evoke in my heart, I myself do not know. The good or evil that befalls one is, consequent on the nature of one's past deeds—meritorious or otherwise—subject to divine approbation, and it is an error to impute it to the agency of any mortal.

His present position attributed to retributive justice of Heaven.

To-day, owing to some eruptions on his legs which have caused him much pain, the Governor has refused to allow visitors to see him. All those who went to pay their respects, having been apprised of the order, withdrew. I therefore remained at my areca-nut store-house, and returned home at midday.

Governor unable to receive visitors owing to indisposition.

This afternoon, a communication was received by Chinna Mudali from the son of Arulânandan, the catechist at Mylapore, who has been in the habit of furnishing, from time to time, secret intelligence concerning the affairs of Madras. It was stated in this that the Governor of Madras, who had become acquainted with his dealings, had written to the

Letter from a spy at Mylapore.

States that Governor of Madras having detected him requested seizure of all French subjects there.

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1746.

This reported to Governor.

amaldâr of Mylapore requesting him to seize any French subjects dwelling there. This was reported to the Governor of Pondichery, and he at once ordered the despatch of a letter in the following terms to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib Ṭâhîr, who was about to proceed to Mylapore :—

Who writes remonstrance to H. Sahib Tahir.

"To you there is no distinction between our men and those of the English, and moreover at Madras all persons, of whatsoever nationality, are allowed to go where they please. We have been advised that your amaldâr has, at the instance of the Governor of Madras, issued injunctions for the apprehension of our people living at, or having occasion to visit Mylapore. Is he justified in giving such an order? Our request is that you will be pleased to issue peremptory orders to your officers and men, to forbid interference by the English with French subjects who have either to sojourn or come there on business. In the event of your being unable, owing to your particular liking for the English, to comply with our request, be pleased to intimate this to us in order that we may direct our men to forbear from any intercourse with Mylapore. We ask the favour of a reply."

This despatched to Arcot.

The letter referred to above, accompanied by another addressed to Subbaiyan, the agent of the French, was despatched to Arcot this evening at 6, by a Company's peon.

This was the day of the celebration of the Sacrament. Consequently the holy elements were brought out in the church of St. Paul, under a salute

of twenty-one guns from the fort. The Governor, the other members of Council, and all other Europeans, and all Native Christians, received the blessed Sacrament. The Governor went straight home, but Madame Dupleix proceeded to the asylum for the poor, situated near the washermen's quarters, made some kind inquiries of them, and then returned to her residence. I have recorded what has come to my knowledge to-day.

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1746.

Formal celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

Friday, 17th June 1746, or 7th Âni of Akshaya.—When I called at the Governor's house this morning, I found that he had not risen, as he was suffering from lumbago, head-ache, and pain caused by the eruptions on his legs. Consequently no one visited him, and there was no durbar.* Those who attended returned home.

No reception in consequence of illness of Governor.

At noon, four Brâhmans brought a letter from Mahé. It is reported that there is nothing noteworthy in this, but its actual contents will be made known in due course. The messengers are said to have covered the distance in thirteen days.

A letter from Mahé.

Saturday, 18th June 1746, or 8th Âni of Akshaya, New moon.—To-day, also, the Governor did not appear, owing to pain in his loins. Consequently, the Deputy Governor and others waited for a while in the drawing-room, and then departed.

Governor still indisposed.

This morning at 11, the Governor sent for me and said: "I have received a letter from Ḥusain

* Court-Levée. Here the meaning is reception of visitors and transaction of business.

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1746.

Governor directs diarist to speedily dispose of a suit.

Ṣâḥib. Why have you not yet disposed of the suit of Suga Sing? Why do you put it off day after day? Please make haste with it." I replied: "It is all but ready. I will bring the parties here in two or three days, and settle the dispute in your presence." He rejoined: "Morning and evening, I am worried with this matter. Bring it to a conclusion, without any further delay." Just then, as I was still standing before the Governor, Chinna Mudali, who had read out the letter, and whose spirits were raised by the request made to him by the Governor to do this, exclaimed: "Why have you not yet completed the adjudication of the case? Please explain the delay." I replied: "What do you know regarding its merits? You had better remain silent." He then held his tongue. Madanânda Paṇḍit and Chinna Mudali afterwards said to me: "Ḥusain Ṣâḥib has addressed a letter to the Governor stating that the debt due to him has remained unpaid for a long time; that he has to celebrate a marriage for which money is now required; and that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has complained to him that Suga Sing's suit has not been disposed of, and has requested that as the case is but a trifling one it may be speedily settled. The Governor has summoned you because Ḥusain Ṣâḥib referred in his letter to the subject of the suit brought by Suga Sing."

Chinna Mudali asks an uncalled for question.

Silenced by diarist.

Why Governor mentioned the suit.

The Governor again sent for me, and said: "You must pay the sum required by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib. I have nothing in hand. You owe the Company

and me a good deal, and you must undertake to furnish me with the amount." Yielding to his request, I replied: "So be it. I will satisfy the claim." After I had uttered these words, the Governor observed that the money due to him on account of silk thread had yet to be paid, and that his accountant had informed him that in spite of his frequent demands, the debtor concerned was putting him off; and he added: "You had better dispose of Suga Sing's suit at once." With these remarks he began to move away. I at once exclaimed: "Rangappa Nâyakkan, the dubâsh of the Governor of Fort St. David, wrote a letter to me, which I communicated to you. It has yet to be answered." He observed: "Yes. Write to him that I have been ill, and that there has consequently been a delay of two or three days in replying. Tell him that thanks to his courtesy I have an ample stock of wine at present, but that, in the event of ships not arriving from France, I will certainly write to him, and obtain some. Do this politely, in terms in keeping with those in which his letter was couched." I sent an answer to the foregoing effect, and delivered it to the peon who brought the letter from Fort St. David, and I kept a copy.

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1746.

He calls on diarist to provide money required by Husain Sahib.

Again desires the speedy disposal of suit of S. Sing.

Diarist reminds him of letter from Fort St. David.

He gives instructions as to reply.

Monday, 20th June 1746, or 10th Âni of Akshaya.— This day at 11, the Governor summoned me, showed me some pearls which he intended buying, and asked me how they were selling in the market. I stated that in a short time there would be a decided

Shows some pearls to diarist.

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1746.

Who advises him not to purchase them.

They are accordingly returned.

fall in the value of pearls; that there would be a large importation of them within the next twenty days, when they were sure to become very cheap—so much so that a reduction in the price by about a half might be expected—and that consequently it was not desirable to purchase them now. He accordingly told his wife to return them, which she did.

Governor mentions settlement of difference between French and Dutch.

The Governor then gave me the following information concerning the three ships of the Company captured by Commodore Barnet on their way hither from China, and sold by him to the Dutch. It was that the King of France had required of the Dutch Company the restoration of the vessels in question, that the latter had yielded to this demand, and that the ships with their cargoes had consequently again become the property of the French Company. I expressed my delight at this news, and requested him to communicate to me any information that he could concerning the Manilla* ship. He replied: "The royal standard of France does not fly at Manilla. The dominant flag there is that of a Muhammadan—a bigoted Muhammadan—and the point is not one on which the Company ought to move the King. Steps have been taken in other directions. But nobody knows the will of Heaven in the matter, and the predestined fortunes of us all."

Conversation regarding the Manilla ship seized by English.

Thereupon I observed: "It will be of no avail if the undertaking results only in the recovery by the

* This refers apparently to the "vessel from Manilla" mentioned at pages 45 and 46.

Company of what it has lost. The interests of many merchants in this town are involved, and you should be instrumental in the recovery of their money. Successful effort on your part in this direction will greatly redound to your credit, and will be a meritorious action."

1746.
Diarist urges him to take action regarding this.

The Governor replied: "It is all God's will. I am sure that He purposes that our efforts should be crowned with success." I rejoined: "The outcome of these will greatly contribute to your glory, and that of the Company."

He then made the following observations touching the prospects of the affairs of the English and Dutch Companies: "The English Company is bound to die out. It has long been in an impecunious condition, and what it had to its credit has been lent to the King, whose overthrow is certain. The loss of its capital is therefore inevitable, and this must lead to collapse. Mark my words. The truth of them will be brought home to you when you, ere long, find that my prophecy has been realized. In like manner; the Dutch Company is destined to share a similar fate. Its expenses continue to be enormous, whilst its trade has considerably decreased. The Dutch are, moreover, in great straits, now that the towns in the countries bordering on Holland have become possessions of the French, as have also the cities and the provinces on both the banks of the river which debouches into the sea in their country. This circumstance is particularly disagreeable to them,

Remarks of Governor touching prospects of English and Dutch Companies.

Predicts downfall of former.

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as the sea and the river form their chief means of communication. Further, the Dutch Company is robbed by the very people who are in its service, and consequently the latter enrich themselves at the cost of the Company, which becomes proportionately impoverished. The occupations of the Dutch are solely confined to trade and commerce, and their State owns no territorial possessions. These causes must conduce to the collapse before long of this Company also. About 200 towns belonging to the Dutch were captured last year by the King of France, who, however, influenced by certain motives, afterwards restored them. But having been disappointed in his expectations, he has again commenced military operations resulting in a serious loss of life and property. If princes hurry themselves into any act without due forethought, their undertakings must be attended by consequences affecting human lives and fortunes."

And of the latter.

I concurred with the sentiments which he had expressed, and related certain anecdotes by way of illustration, the aptitude of which he admitted.

Diarist concurs.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM JUNE 21ST, 1746, TO JULY 5TH, 1746.

Governor instructs diarist to send money to Âlambarai—Intimates expected arrival of squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais—His elation at the news—Satisfaction of diarist—Money sent to Âlambarai—Governor questions diarist as to payment of certain debts to Company—He replies—Governor takes him to task for delay in supplying goods—His reply—Governor alludes to difficulties as regards funds for public charges—Evasive reply of diarist—Governor demands 1,000 pagodas—And suggests that another man should give Rs. 1,000—Conversation on the subject—Governor insists on payment—Reflections of diarist on his difficulties—Festival of Eve of St. John—Ceremonies observed—Saint's day of Madame Dupleix—Visits paid to her—Paddy sent for sale at Pondichery—Man in charge brings letter from the Nawâb—Governor receives this from the bearer—Finds that it asks exemption of paddy from duty—Request refused—Diarist informed of critical condition of V. Venkaṭaiyan—Suggestion made as regards means of relieving anxiety of invalid—He goes to Governor—Finds him dictating a letter—He desires diarist to prepare a draft, and instructs him as to heads—Chinna Mudali tells diarist of anger of Governor at his inability to draft from his instructions—Madanânda Paṇdit requests Chinna Mudali to take a certain memorandum to Governor—Explains nature of case to which it relates, and how to be disposed of—All three go to Governor—Who, after hearing contents of the paper, passes orders—Diarist attends a marriage—Tirukkâmi Cheṭṭi and he intimate hopeless illness of V. Venkaṭaiyan to Governor—Who directs that he be strictly guarded—Diarist visits the sick man—Conversation with medical attendant—Death of Venkaṭaiyan—Diarist reports this to Governor, who asks what is to be done—Diarist relates the circumstances under which Venkaṭaiyan was imprisoned, and what subsequently occurred—States that formal award should now be made—And Sunguvâr be held responsible for any defalcations found—Krimâsi Paṇdit deputed to communicate this—Those to whom the message delivered, object—Governor, on hearing this, decides that they must make good any loss—They submit—Further orders of Governor—Request that Madras gate may be kept open on for certain purpose complied with—Governor directs that Âdiappa Cheṭṭi shall not leave Pondichery—Council meets—French spy at Madras aids escapes of prisoners—Detected and punished—Letter from M. Paradis to Governor regarding a debt due by agent of diarist—Governor upbraids him—Diarist explains—Governor orders him to write to M. Paradis—He does so—Receives certain letters informing him that his agent refuses

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payment—And has been imprisoned—Despatches from Surat—Further conversation with Governor regarding debt due to M. Paradis—Governor insists on prompt payment, and suggests dismissal of agent—Diarist consents—Chinna Mudali and he decide to prefer complaint against M. Paradis.

Governor instructs diarist to send money to Âlambarai.

[*Tuesday*], *21st June 1746, or 11th Âni of Akshaya.*—At half-past 10 this morning, the Governor sent for me, and gave instructions to forward Rs. 50 to the master of the sloop at Âlambarai, and to write to him to get her, as also the ship lying there, in readiness to set sail. He then said: "Rangappa, I have received intelligence that nine French ships are on their way hither. A brigantine which fell in with them on her way from Ceylon to Negapatam was compelled to produce her passport to prove that she belonged to the Dutch. The captain reported the matter to the Governor of Negapatam, who communicated the news to all his Councillors." He showed me a letter from M. de la Bourdonnais, and expressed himself gratified at its contents. With great joy he informed me that—God willing—M. de la Bourdonnais would arrive here in a day or two, and observed that had he waited to intercept the English ships, he could have reached this with them, only on the 15th July. I remarked that good fortune was on his side, and said other things palatable to him. These pleased him very greatly, and awakened in his heart inexpressible delight. The sight of his raptures produced happiness in me also, and I thought within myself, and believed with some feeling of certainty, that God would bless him

Intimates to him expected arrival of squadron of French ships.

Joy of Governor at the news of approach of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Satisfaction of diarist.

with many more occasions for experiencing still greater satisfaction.

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1746.

Money sent to Âlambarai.

I despatched the money and a palmyra leaf letter to Âlambarai, in order that the sloop and the ship which were there might be kept ready to depart.

Governor questions diarist regarding payment of debt to the Company.

Thursday, 23rd June 1746, or 13th Âni of Akshaya.—This morning at 9, when I reached the Governor's house, he said to me: "You owe money to the Company. What have you to say touching payment?" I replied: "It is only five or six days since you mentioned this to me. If you press me so constantly, what can I say? I will make over to you whatever I can get together during the next fifteen or twenty days. I have already told you that I would do so. What more can I submit?" He then said "How many days ago did I speak to you about canvas? You delay in everything. You fail even to supply goods, though you do not pay your debts. I do not understand what you really have on your mind. What is it? Tell me plainly that you have had losses, and that you are unable to pay me. There will then be an end to the matter, and I will no longer demand the money." I replied: "The canvas has already come, and I reported this to M. Cornet on the very day that it arrived. He however bade me keep it until sent for. This has been the cause of the delay. If required I can furnish it this moment." Without making any further remark, he merely said: "Why have you not supplied it already?" and continued: "How am

He replies.

Governor takes him to task as to supply of certain canvas.

He replies on this point.

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1746.

Governor alludes to difficulties as regards funds for public charges. Evasive reply of diarist.

I to meet the pay and other charges of establishments until the ships of the Company arrive? I can manage somehow or other this month. But when the next comes I shall have to sell my plate and other articles of table furniture, and my wife's jewels." My reply to this was: "Why does God bring about such difficulties in your case? Your heart is such that He will grant you the enjoyment of all happiness." He exclaimed: "Well, you must by some means or other arrange to let me have 1,000 pagodas to meet the charges of establishment for next month. Please do not raise any objections." After having thus spoken, he moved on; but suddenly standing still said: "If Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi would pay 1,000 rupees now, it would be of some service." I replied: "He has pledged some jewels with me, engaging to return the amount borrowed in a month, and redeem them. If you so desire, I will bring them to you at once." His answer to this was: "Never mind. Give me the money when he pays it to you. But do not forget the 1,000 pagodas for which I have asked of you. You must give them to me in time to enable me to distribute the pay of the establishment." Being of opinion that as matters stood it was not proper to manifest any hesitation, I said: "Very well."

Governor demands of him 1,000 pagodas to pay establishment.

And suggests that Seshachala Chetti should give Rs. 1,000.

Conversation on the subject.

Governor insists on diarist meeting his demand.

But in what terms can I describe the straitened condition of my circumstances at present? Who can avoid what the divine will imposes? It is indeed hard to bear the difficulties with which God has now

Chap. XIX.

1746.

Reflections of diarist on his difficulties.

beset me, and I pray that He, in His grace, will pardon me for any sins that I may have committed, and save me from disgrace. The mighty Governor has applied to me for money in terms almost those of a beggar. I would rather die than smile, show my teeth, and express my inability to meet his wishes. God trieth me in whatever ways it seemeth to Him good. But, little do the common folk know of the divine will. They may deliver themselves of anything that their fancy suggests, and we must be prepared to bear with their words. However bitter may be our complaints and troubles, that which according to the heavenly decree must from time to time occur, must come to pass, and cannot be averted, even to the extent of the smallest atom. In this world, when anything befalls a man which he can regard with pride, he is called a capable person; but any reverse that he encounters is attributed to his incapacity, and evil nature. Few will assign such accidents to the will of God. But personally, and as far as I am concerned, I am transferring the whole burden of my cares upon Him, trustfully leaving it to Him to dispose of my affairs according to his pleasure. I returned home in this frame of mind.

He places his reliance on God.

Festival of Eve of Nativity of St. John.

There was a festival this evening on account of the Eve of the Nativity of St. John. It is usual on this occasion to build and light a bonfire on the esplanade to the south of the fort, and westward of the entrance to the church of the Capuchins. Accordingly, the Governor and the priests set fire to it

CHAP. XIX.

1746.

Ceremonies on this occasion.

first, and the other torch-bearers then followed their example. Three volleys were fired by the detachment of troops which was in attendance. These were succeeded by a salute of twenty-one guns from the fort and the ship.

Sadness of Europeans present.

Nevertheless, all the spectators, including myself, felt sad, as we noticed that there was no cheerfulness in the countenances of the Europeans who had come to witness the display. I afterwards returned home.

Festival continued. Saint's day of Madame Dupleix.

Friday, 24th June 1746, or 14th Âni of Akshaya.—This morning, also, there were festivities in honour of St. John. It was moreover the Saint's day of Madame Dupleix. Three volleys and twenty-one guns were, in accordance with custom, fired at dawn. Again, during service at the church, which took place at 8 o'clock, three volleys, as also three salutes of twenty-one guns each, were as usual fired. These were returned with a similar number by the ship.

Diarist and others visit her.

As this was Madame Dupleix's Saint's day, I visited her early in the morning—at half-past 7. Later on, Chinna Mudali, my brother, and others, paid their respects. The merchants presented themselves before her at half-past 10. The mint officers and others will all do the like to-day and to-morrow. The visits were in accordance with custom. Up to noon, there was nothing else worthy of note.

Amaldar of Porto Novo sends paddy for sale at Pondichery.

Saturday, 25th June 1746, or 15th Âni of Akshaya.—Shaikh Muḥammad Hâdî, the amaldâr of Porto Novo, having sought my assistance for the sale at Pondichery of some paddy from his village,

Rettai Âlagrâmam, I obtained for him the requisite license from the Governor. This morning at 8, he sent 2,000 kalams * of paddy for sale, and with it a letter under seal from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân addressed to the Governor, in which the exemption of this from duty was sought. The person entrusted with the delivery of the letter, without obtaining the previous permission of the Governor, and without making any inquiries at the town-gate, abruptly entered the city, dismounted at the Company's counting-house, and forwarded intimation of his arrival to Chinna Mudali who, in return, sent word asking the object of his errand, but the messenger refused to specify it. The man stated that it was a matter which could not be revealed to Chinna Mudali, and one with which the Governor should personally be made acquainted, and he refused even to deliver the despatch which he had brought. All this was communicated to the Governor, who summoned M. de Bury, and directed him to call upon the officer at Vazhudâvûr to report why the guard at the gate there had allowed this individual ingress to the city. It afterwards occurred to the Governor that he might be the bearer of a communication from the Nawâb in connection with the suit of Suga Sing. He then sent for me, and asked what I thought that the purport of the despatch could be, and whether it

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1746.

Man in charge brings a letter from the Nawab.

Refuses to state his errand except to Governor.

Who at first directs inquiry as to the admission of the messenger.

* A measure containing two merkâls. The capacity of the old merkâl was 750 cubic inches.

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could concern Suga Sing. I suggested to him the possibility of its relating to the jewels of the Guzerâti merchant, which had been detained at Kârikâl.

Subsequently sends for the bearer of the letter and ascertains contents.

Thereupon, he instructed Lazar to summon the bearer of the Nawâb's letter, received it, caused it to be read, and found that it conveyed a request for the exemption from taxation of the paddy sent. The Governor smiled, and said to the messenger: "This is a trifling affair regarding which it is not worth the while of the Nawâb to write to me. Although his interests are identical with mine, and although I would gladly do anything to gratify his wishes, and am ever seeking for opportunities to serve him, yet I regret that compliance with the request made in this letter is a matter beyond my power. The duty leviable belongs directly to the King, and hence the imposition of it cannot be dispensed with by me."

Courteously declines to grant the request which it conveys.

Reply despatched.

The Governor also caused a reply to this effect to be prepared and despatched.

Diarist informed of critical condition of V. Venkaṭaiyan.

Sunday, 26th June 1746, or 16th Âni of Akshaya.—Mârgasagâya Cheṭṭi informed me last night that Velamuri Venkaṭaiyan was so ill that his life was despaired of. I was in the arecanut storehouse this morning considering whether I should communicate this news to the Governor, when Tirukkâmi Cheṭṭi arrived. He said: "Velamuri Venkaṭaiyan, who is now ill, burns with a desire to go to Madras, and see his children there, and his indisposition seems to be aggravated by his anxiety. An expedient to relieve him from his mental disquietude has been suggested.

It is that you should, with the permission of the Governor, acquaint the invalid that he has approved of his proceeding to Madras, but wishes that he should go there after he has improved his health by halting for a day or two at Mînâkshi Ammâḷ's choultry. The communication by you of such welcome news may even cure him of his malady. Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi and Mutturâma Cheṭṭi have sent me on this errand, and they beseech you to obtain the necessary permission from the Governor."

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Suggestion as to means of relieving anxiety of invalid.

Accompanied by Tirukkâmi Cheṭṭi, I accordingly hastened to the Governor. He was at the time engaged in dictating to Chinna Mudali and Madanânda Paṇḍit the reply to a letter written by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib. On seeing me, he exclaimed that they did not comprehend his orders, and desired me to have an answer drafted. His instructions were that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's attention should be invited to the assistance and protection afforded to his family and kinsmen by the Governor and his French brethren at Pondichery at the time of the incursion of the Mahrattas into his territories, and that it should be pointed out to him that though by reason of such services he could fairly be expected to render in return all possible assistance in promoting the interests of the French he seemed to pursue a different line of conduct. I caused a reply in these terms to be written by Madanânda Paṇḍit, and had the seal and stamp affixed. The Governor ordered that the reply should be despatched by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's own man,

Diarist and another wait on the Governor.

Find him dictating a letter.

He directs diarist to prepare a draft and instructs him as to the heads.

Letter written and despatched.

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and this was done. After we had taken leave of the Governor, Chinna Mudali expressed his gratification that this business was at last over, and stated that it had given them a world of trouble and mortification.

Chinna Mudali tells diarist of anger of the Governor at his inability to draft from his instructions.

On my questioning him closely, he said: "Yesterday, the Governor directed me to prepare a reply on the lines suggested by him. I did so, but he was unable to understand my Tamil, and lost his temper twice or thrice. He then told his wife to explain to me his meaning. But how could she help us, and give answers and explanations to questions put on such a subject? Her Tamil was so very different from mine that, in great wrath, he was fain to send me away last night. Luckily, you chanced to arrive and drafted a reply of some sort. I am glad that this matter, which has been a very troublesome job, has been disposed of."

Madanânda Pandit asks Chinna Mudali to take a certain paper to Governor.

At this stage, Madanânda Paṇḍit drew the attention of Chinna Mudali to a memorandum which was awaiting disposal, and invited him to go again to the Governor, detailing at the same time the circumstances of the case in the following words:—

Gives particulars of the matter to which it relates.

"This relates to the case of Jânû Khân Bhâi, who was kept under restraint by the Governor, at the instance of Paṭhân Sa'âdat Khân, but who made his escape when Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdur visited this. The claim of Paṭhân Sa'âdat Khân against Jânû Khân Bhâi was for 13,700 pagodas and an elephant. At the time of the Mahratta inroad, when both of them took refuge here, the claim was brought before

the Governor for adjudication, and after investigating the merits of the case according to their own law, he decided it in favour of the Paṭhân. But Jânû Khân Bhâi perversely refused to comply with the award. Sa'âdat Khân has applied for a duly attested memorandum setting forth these facts, a draft of which has accordingly been prepared. It has to be read and interpreted to the Governor, whose seal should be affixed to it, and then it should be delivered to the applicant."

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And states how it should be dealt with.

On receiving this invitation from Madanânda Paṇḍit, Chinna Mudali suggested that I should accompany them. In spite of my request to be left alone, they most earnestly entreated me to go with them, and I was finally prevailed upon to do so. When we approached the Governor, Chinna Mudali begged me to broach the subject, but I told him to do this himself. About a quarter of an Indian hour was spent in mutual interchange of courtesies on this point, and then Madanânda Paṇḍit, exclaiming that Chinna Mudali could not accurately interpret the contents of the document, requested me to undertake the work. The Governor, with a smile, remained silent for a while, and then turning to me bade me proceed with the matter. Upon this Madanânda Paṇdit read out in Persian the draft memorandum—the contents of which were as already stated—and I interpreted to the Governor in French as it was read. He then affixed his seal to it, and directed the delivery of it to Sa'âdat Khân : this was accordingly done.

Accompanied by diarist both go to Governor.

At whose request diarist interprets the memorandum.

Case disposed of.

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Diarist attends a marriage.

Having been invited to the marriage ceremony of the son of Kommaṇa Mudali, which was being celebrated in a house opposite to his own, at which a leaf pavilion had been erected, I attended it, and then repaired for the second time to the Governor's house. Tirukkâmi Cheṭṭi accompanied me, and we both entered the presence of the Governor. I said to him: "Velamuri Venkaṭaiyan is dangerously ill. It is stated that the longest time that he can live is thirty-six hours." He then asked me what the nature of his illness was. I replied that the disease was chronic dyspepsia, and communicated to him what Sungu Mutturâma Cheṭṭi and Sungu Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi had told Tirukkâmi Cheṭṭi and has already been recorded. The Governor replied: "I cannot see how this man, whose death is regarded as certain when here, can be expected to recover when moved to Mînâkshi Ammâḷ's choultry. He, apparently, is pining to return to his native place. Consequently, when he has improved somewhat in health, he might escape. Tell the men who have been appointed to watch him, to be careful." He bade me see him in person, and directed me to strengthen the guard by two peons. I accordingly deputed two more men for duty, warned them, as well as the four already detailed, not to be careless, told them and Tirukkâmi Cheṭṭi that I would come again in the evening, and went home. At 5, I returned and found the invalid raving, and tossing on his bed. I asked Annapûrṇa Aiyan what the condition

Waits with Tirukkami Chetti, on Governor.

They intimate to him the hopeless illness of V. Venkataiyan.

Governor orders addition to the guard placed over him.

Diarist visits the sick man.

of his patient was. He said: "It is a doubtful case, and we cannot count upon his recovery as certain. At all events, it will be well if his excessive anxiety can be allayed. Please tell him, with your own mouth, that you will send him to his home." I accordingly gave him in equivocal terms a hope of this, and, as a preliminary step towards removal, caused him to be carried to the stable. I then went out for an airing, and returned home.

Chap. XIX. — 1746. Conversation with medical attendant.

Monday, 27th June 1746, or 17th Âni of Akshaya.— There was this morning nothing worthy of note at the durbar. In the afternoon, at about 4, the Company's peons informed me that the expiatory ceremonies performed at the last moments of a dying person had taken place in the case of Venkaṭaiyan. At 5, I betook myself to Sunguvâr's house in view to make inquiries concerning the sick man. Seeing Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi, Annapûrṇa Aiyan, Salatu Venkaṭâchala Cheṭṭi, and a few other Kômutties, in front of the building, I asked them how he was getting on. The first two of those mentioned above informed me that his breathing had become difficult, and that his end was only a matter of a few hours. I then spoke some words of consolation to Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi. As it was nearly 6, and as the matter had to be reported to the Governor, I took with me Annapûrṇa Aiyan and also Krimâsi Paṇḍit, who had accompanied me from the time that I left my house for Sunguvâr's, and proceeded by the eastern road in order to call at the Governor's

Moribund condition of V. Venkaṭaiyan.

Diarist and others go to report this to the Governor.

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Death of V. Venkaṭaiyan.

residence. Hardly had I reached this, when the Company's peons, running after me, told me that Venkaṭaiyan had expired. I then entered the house to communicate the news to the Governor. He had just returned, having been out for a drive. I made him acquainted with the death of Venkaṭaiyan. He said to me: "What is to be done now." I replied: "Some time ago, when Venkaṭaiyan was in Madras, Sungu Mutturâma Cheṭṭi and Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi represented to you, through Kanakarâya Mudali, that he had embezzled money to the extent of 60,000 or 70,000 pagodas from the bazaar of Nâraṇappa Cheṭṭi, and that he must be summoned and made to restore this sum, and they begged you to take the necessary measures. Thereupon, in the month of Arppisi of the year Rudrôtkâri [November 1743], you addressed a letter to the Governor of Madras, requesting that he might be sent to Pondichery. On this Mr. Benyon summoned Venkaṭaiyan, and informed him that you had written asking for his rendition in connection with Sunguvâr's accounts, and that you had mentioned him as being the agent of the latter, and therefore liable for the defalcations which had occurred in the money entrusted to his charge. The Governor accordingly bade him go to Pondichery and settle his accounts. Venkaṭaiyan however denied that he was the agent of Sunguvâr, and in view to effect his escape for the time being, declared that he was under no obligation to that person. Mr. Benyon then communicated to you

Governor on hearing of this asks what is to be done.

Diarist relates what occurred when charge of embezzlement was brought against the deceased.

And the statement made to Mr. Benyon.

what he had stated. You, upon this, sent for Mutturâma Chetti and Sêshâchala Chetti, acquainted them with the purport of the letter received from Madras, and asked whether they had any evidence in substantiation of their claim. They answered in the affirmative, and promised to produce witnesses. They accordingly summoned all the agents of the merchants employed in the bazaar, every one of whom deposed that Venkaṭaiyan was the agent of Sunguvâr, that he had the custody of the funds belonging to him at the bazaar of Nâraṇappa Chetti in Arcot; that he had the charge of his accounts; and that he was in receipt of regular pay from him. You thereupon caused a statement to be drawn up, which was attested by the signatures of each of the witnesses, and affixing your own signature to it, you forwarded it to Mr. Benyon, accompanied by a separate communication addressed to him. On reading the papers, he was convinced of the truth of the allegation against Venkaṭaiyan, and ordered him to go to Pondichery. You then, through me, nominated Rangô Paṇḍit, Êkâmbara Aiyan, Gôpâlaswâmi, Vîrarâgava Chetti, and Âdi Varâha Chetti, as arbitrators to scrutinize and settle the accounts. But Venkaṭaiyan refused to submit to arbitration, stating that there was no need for it. He pleaded: 'I am directly responsible to Sunguvâr, but it is he who is accountable to his co-partners Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan and others. If required, I will remain

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Also the inquiry held at Pondichery.

The attested statement sent to Madras.

And the rendition of Venkaṭaiyan.

Diarist refers to the appointment of arbitrators to settle the accounts.

And plea of Venkaṭaiyan.

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with and assist the accountant who is deputed to examine the accounts, as I did immediately after my return from Madras.' I thereupon observed that being responsible for the accounts, he must certainly remain with the accountant, and prepare and furnish us with a statement showing the receipts and charges under each head. I instructed Gôpâlaswâmi to examine the books, and see whether there were any discrepancies. He accordingly went through them, and supplied me with a list of incorrect entries which he had detected. I then summoned Venkaṭaiyan, and told him that as his accounts were full of inaccuracies, he must settle them before the arbitrators mentioned above. He, however, persisted in declining to accept adjudication by them, and said 'I am answerable to Sunguvâr. I act in obedience to his orders. Where is the need for any reference to arbitrators?' His words excited your anger, and you directed his confinement in the prison at the fort, observing that he had no right to decline to abide by the decision of the arbitrators. He was accordingly incarcerated, along with Wandiwash Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai, in one of the cells near the north of the eastern gate. I also sent word to him through two or three persons advising him to submit his accounts for settlement by arbitration. At your bidding, I further went to him, and personally and clearly explained to him the wisdom of acceding to the course indicated. But he was stubborn, and starved for three days. On the fourth, he sent

Details the inquiry made.

Mentions the objections of Venkaṭaiyan thereto.

His incarceration by order of the Governor.

intimation that he acquiesced in the mode of adjudication suggested. You thereupon ordered his discharge, and directed that his accounts should be looked into by the arbitrators. When he was released, he not only executed a deed promising to abide by the decision of the five arbitrators mentioned, but also made a full representation to them of all the circumstances supporting the entries, and helped in the examination of his accounts. All that remains to be done now is that a formal award, specifying the amount for which Venkaṭaiyan was liable, should be drawn up, and signed by the arbitrators. The entertainment of Venkaṭaiyan as agent in charge of the cash in Nâraṇappa Cheṭṭi's shop belonging to Sunguvâr was a private arrangement, made by the latter on his own responsibility. Nâraṇappa Cheṭṭi is accountable to his co-sharers as regards the concerns of the shop. Any deficit caused by misappropriation on the part of Venkaṭaiyan, and recoverable from him, should be made good by Sunguvâr. Sungu Mutturâma Cheṭṭi and Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi should be informed accordingly."

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His subsequent submission.

And what he did as regards the accounts.

States that a formal award should now be made.

And Sunguvar be held responsible for any defalcations found.

The Governor then said: "Whom shall we send to them? Shall it be the interpreters of the Court." I replied: "You may summon Krimâsi Paṇḍit, and charge him with the message." This person, who is the subordinate chief of the peons, and Annapûrṇa Aiyan, had both accompanied me to the Governor's house, and were waiting there. The Governor accordingly sent for Krimâsi Paṇḍit, and bade me

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Krimâsi Pandit deputed to communicate this to him.

tell him all that was to be communicated to Sunguvâr In his presence I said to Krimâsi Paṇḍit as follows, directing him to repeat the same to Sunguvâr, and to inform him that he did so under the instructions of the Governor :—

Diarist gives him the message which he is to convey.

"All the accounts of Venkaṭaiyan, who is now dead, have been examined by the arbitrators appointed for that purpose. It only remains for them to prepare the balance sheet, and sign it. Nothing else has to be done. Venkaṭaiyan was privately employed by you as your agent in the shop of which Nâraṇappa Cheṭṭi has to render accounts to his co-partners, and he was not vested with any independent ownership. It therefore follows that you must replace any amount embezzled by Venkaṭaiyan. For your own good, and only by way of advice, I recommend you, ere the news of his death reaches Madras, and his brother conceals his property, to write to the sons of your relative Venkaṭâchala Cheṭṭi at Madras, to place all his money, goods, and other articles, in safe custody. You know best where these actually are."

He delivers it to those concerned.

All these words were repeated by Krimâsi Paṇḍit to Sungu Mutturâma Cheṭṭi and Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi. They replied: "How are we, in particular,

Who object to the entire responsibility.

concerned in this affair? We are only one of the four co-partners, and why should we alone be held liable for the whole loss. But if the Governor chooses to send a letter to Madras, we will write to our relatives there." Before Krimâsi Paṇḍit could communicate

their reply to the Governor, the latter had sat down to cards. When he rose to take refreshment, I intimated to him what Sêshâchala Chetti had told Krimâsi Pandit. He thereupon exclaimed: "They cannot hope to be relieved of their liability by talking in this off-hand way. They must make good the loss. It is of no consequence to me whether they write to Madras, or not. They can do as they please. I gave the advice which I did for their benefit, and merely owing to my taking a kindly interest in them. It is immaterial to me whether they make light of, or accept and act upon it. It is left to their pleasure. They will eventually suffer much. Tell them so." Krimâsi Pandit again communicated to them what the Governor had said. Sungu Mutturâma Chetti, and Sêshâchala Chetti, then sent word as follows: "So be it. We will do as advised, and write a letter to Madras." I then informed the Governor that when Venkataiyan was ill, they had already written to the sons of Venkatâchala Chetti at Madras, and told them to secure his goods and other property. On this he said: "Inquire about this carefully, and ascertain who went to Madras with the message. His evidence may be required."

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This communicated to the Governor.

Who decides that they must make good the loss.

Krimasi Pandit communicates this to them.

They submit.

Orders of Governor on hearing this.

When I was on my way to the Governor, to communicate to him the news of the death of Venkataiyan, Sêshâchala Chetti requested me, as the death had taken place in the evening, to obtain the permission of the Governor to have the Madras gate kept

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Request that Madras gate might be kept open complied with.

open until he and others returned from conveying the corpse to the cremation ground. I accordingly communicated his request to the Governor, who told M. deBury to comply with it. The latter accordingly gave me a letter which I forwarded to Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi. The gate was kept open until 11, and was only closed after all the parties had returned.

Adiappa Chetti desires to leave Pondichery.

I reported to the Governor that Âdiappa Cheṭṭi, the brother of Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi, was desirous of proceeding to Cuddalore, as his mother was ailing there. He replied: "Where is the urgency for his departure now? But if he is bent upon going, order the Company's peons to prevent his quitting Pondichery." I accordingly instructed the men

Governor directs that this be prevented.

detailed for duty in connection with Sunguvâr's accounts to keep a watch over his movements.

Tuesday, 28th June 1746, or 18th Âni of Akshaya.

Council meets.

—This morning at 8, a meeting of the Council was held, which lasted until 11. Before the Council dispersed, I attended the marriage of Kommaṇa Mudali's son, then set off for the Governor's house, and finally returned home, after the Councillors had departed from the Council Chamber.

French spy at Madras aids prisoners to escape.

The news of this day is as follows: A Frenchman who has been long resident in Madras with his family, and who had been serving under the English as a serjeant, has, under secret agreement with the Governor of Pondichery, been in the habit of furnishing the latter, from time to time, with private

information concerning affairs at Madras. This man has been secretly and gradually aiding forty or fifty of the French prisoners, consisting of officials and part of the crew of a ship captured by the English, to escape from Fort St. George to Mylapore, professing all the while ignorance of everything connected with them. About twenty days ago, seated on a horse, he escorted twenty of them in succession—by twos and threes—to Mylapore. The police peons, noticing this, reported the matter to the Governor of Madras, who at once ordered the arrest of the serjeant, and a search of his house. A few letters from our Governor, M. Dupleix, were discovered, and on the strength of these the prisoner was convicted. His house and all his property have been confiscated ; he has been flogged four times in the presence of the troops ; chains were placed on his legs and wrists ; and he will, it is said, be executed. A communication to the foregoing effect has been received from a reliable quarter, and the report is not likely to be false.

Detected. Is arrested. Convicted and publicly flogged. Said that he will be executed.

Friday, 1st July 1746, or 21st Âni of Akshaya.—This morning at 10, the Governor sent for me, and said : "A letter has come from M. Paradis. It seems that your agent there, a certain Aiyangâr, who owes 700 pagodas, payable in two instalments—400 on the 30th June, and the remaining 300 on the 30th July—has failed to pay anything, and that when a demand was made, he has refused to comply with it, saying that he had written to you about it, that

Governor communicates to diarist complaint from M. Paradis regarding a debt due by his agent.

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you have asked him to pay the amount, but that he does not owe you a cash, and on the contrary, has overpaid you. The man appears to have spoken impertinently to M. Paradis, saying: 'Do what you like,' etc., and M. Paradis has consequently ordered him to be imprisoned. Here again, see what you have done. You have, this season, had an unprecedentedly good harvest. You have disposed of the whole produce, not leaving a single grain Yet you delay payment." And taking off his cap, he continued: "Enough of your friendship. Many thanks to you." I said in explanation: "I told him, as he had a share in the transaction, to settle the first instalment of 400 pagodas, and then the second, and added that the accounts might be adjusted afterwards. He had to pay the amount jointly with Kârikâl Tiruvêngaḍam. I asked the latter, also, to meet his share. Under these circumstances, was I not justified in asking him to make the payment?" The Governor replied: "Very well. Write to M. Paradis what you have told me, and mention that I have been angry with you." "But," he added: "There may be ten thousand transactions between you and him. In what way is the Company concerned with them? You are directly responsible to it." I answered: "That is true, and that is the reason why I told him to arrange for payment. I pressed Tiruvêngaḍam, his partner here, to pay 200 pagodas, and have remitted the amount by a draft. I will send the remaining 200 in two or three days." The

Upbraids him.

Diarist explains matters.

Governor directs him to write to M. Paradis.

Subsequent conversation.

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Governor presses diarist to write soon.

Governor upon this remarked: "Well, write a letter at once. The Aiyangâr is in confinement." He told me repeatedly—four or five times—to write quickly. Considering that it would not be fair to expose Sêsha Aiyangâr just then—seeing that he had brought about his imprisonment through his own imprudence—and bearing in mind that he was my agent, I undertook to be accountable for the whole amount, and wrote to M. Paradis promising to pay the entire sum myself.

Diarist writes promising to pay the debt.

Receives certain letters.

This evening, I received a communication written on palmyra-leaf from Prakâsa Mudali, the dubâsh at Kârikâl, and two from Chinna Kuzhandai. The contents of these were as follows:—

These state that agent refuses to pay.

"You wrote a letter to Sêsha Aiyangâr asking him, with reference to his share in the profits, to pay 700 pagodas to the Company. On receipt of this, he went straight to M. Paradis, and said: 'You may do what you like with me. Although the liability lies with Rangappan, he has written to me to pay the Company. I cannot, however, comply with his request.' As is his nature, he spoke in an imperious and insulting tone. This provoked M. Paradis, who ordered him to be thrown into prison, and placed in irons. He is consequently now in confinement. The responsibility of setting him at liberty lies with you."

And being impertinent is imprisoned by M. Paradis.

God has visited Sêsha Aiyangâr with this punishment in consideration of his ingratitude for all the favour that I have shown him.

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Arrival of despatches from Surat.

Monday, 4th July 1746, or 24th Âni of Akshaya.—Some despatches were received from Sûrat this evening. Their contents have yet to be learnt.

Governor tells diarist that he must pay claim of M. Paradis by 10th August.

Tuesday, 5th July 1746, or 25th Âni of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor summoned me, and said as follows: "Of the 700 pagodas due from you to Kârikâl, you have just sent a draft for 400. You have informed M. Paradis that you will pay the remaining 300 pagodas on the 10th August. But this will not do. You must remit this sum, too, on the 10th instant."

Conversation regarding this.

I replied that I would pay it in accordance with the period allowed in the stipulation with M. Paradis. But the Governor repeated that this would not do, on which I remained silent.

Governor suggests dismissal of diarist's agent.

He then observed: "Dispense with the services of Sêsha Aiyangâr. Do not retain him in your service, for he has disregarded your orders, and has brought some discredit on you." I replied: "I,

He consents.

too, am of the same mind. Unless this be done, his successor will not fear," and I retired. He again sent for me and Chinna Mudali. When we presented

Further conversation regarding the debt due to M. Paradis.

ourselves, he exclaimed: "You had better both pay up what is due; I will write a letter stating that you will." I then drew nearer to him, and said: "We will pay by the 20th, or 25th." He replied: "You can represent what you have to say to M. Paradis." We agreed, and came away.

After this, we discussed with one another the subject of how very particular the Governor was in the matter of exacting money, but how indisposed

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Proposed complaint against M. Paradis.

he was to attend to the complaints of injustice preferred against M. Paradis, and we made up our minds, as the injustices perpetrated by him were beyond description, that we would bring the subject forward as soon as we had paid what was due.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM JULY 8TH, 1746, TO JULY 17TH, 1746.

A ship sighted—Believed by Governor to be from France—Proves to be from Chandernagore—Brings news of approach of French squadron, after a battle with English—Great joy at Pondichery—Eight ships arrive—M. de la Bourdonnais lands, visits Governor, and returns on board—Ships which sailed for Âlambarai recalled—Nine ships in the roads—Account of voyage of the squadron and storms encountered by it—Battle with, and repulse of English—Reason why no pursuit made—Alleged losses of English—M. de la Bourdonnais visits Governor—Treasure, cargo, and passengers, brought by the fleet—Arrival of M. Paradis—Rumour of orders for dismissal of certain officials—Silver and wounded landed—Chinna Mudali and diarist visit M. de la Bourdonnais—Departure of priest of diarist, and others—Presents made, and letters entrusted, to them—Persons sent by diarist with the party—M. Desmarêts visits him—Relates proposals made to the Company by M. Dupleix—Mentions report of appointment of M. Dupleix as Governor of Chandernagore—And grant of a life jâgîr to M. Dumas—Tells him, also, that the transactions of M. de la Bourdonnais are under investigation—Subsequent conversation—Council meets—Distribution of troops recently landed—Conjectured arrival of English fleet at Cuddalore and Fort St. David—Governor informs Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain, both officially and privately, of arrival of French fleet, and defeat by it of English ships—Flight of people of Cuddalore and Fort St. David—Rangô Paṇdit visits diarist—Informs him of imprisonment of A. Seṭṭigai, and that he is proceeding to Tanjore—M. de la Bourdonnais starts for Ozhukarai—Guards turn out and beat the "Tambour"—On his return he refuses this honour—Dispute between him and M. Duquesne on the question of claim to the "Tambour-aux-champs," which the latter declines to accord—Former complains to the Governor—Who, after inquiry, orders the confinement of M. Duquesne—Grievance of M. de la Bourdonnais as regards the "Tambour-aux-champs"—Views of M. Dupleix on the subject—His grievance against M. de la Bourdonnais—The two jealous, one of the other—M. Duquesne released—M. de la Bourdonnais reviews his men—Governor does not attend—Personal antipathy of these two, and reasons for it—Rangô Paṇdit visits diarist, and departs for Tanjore—What befell A. Seṭṭigai and his relatives—Promises made to Rangô Paṇdit—Request made to him regarding certain debts, and arrangements with him—Diarist asks him to confer an appointment on a certain man—News of flight of inhabitants of Cuddalore and Fort St. David to Porto Novo—Alarm caused by reverse of English—Return of Dutch to Porto Novo—Consternation at Madras—Governor there stated to have broken down

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--News of reinforcement of ships for French--Property of Mr. Barnet and the Company transferred to Madras—That of merchants and others brought into Fort St. David—Death of naval captain—Governor comments to diarist, in very disparaging language, on M. de la Bourdonnais--Diarist speaks to him, in very flattering terms, of his administration—Governor mentions opinions of officers of M. de la Bourdonnais as to the escape of English squadron—And remarks on that officer's defence—Diarist alludes to certain treasure ships—Remarks of Governor touching these—Doings at Fort St. David—Funeral of the deceased captain—Envoys arrive from certain persons in Tanjore—Object of the mission—Diarist hears their statements, peruses the letter brought, and sends suitable replies to the latter—Envoys return to Tanjore.

A ship sighted.

Friday, 8th July 1746, or 28th Âni of Akshaya.—At half-past 11, this forenoon, when I was in my arecanut storehouse, Arunâchala Chetti came and told me that a vessel displaying a white flag was approaching, that a signal was flying on the fort, and that the Governor had been informed. On this, I was about to leave for the beach in order to see the ship, when I met Varlâm the younger son of Malaikkozhundu Mudali, and he told me that the Governor had observed her from the terrace of his house, and had ordered him to announce to Monseigneur Cœurdoux, the Superior of the church of St. Paul, that she was French, and was approaching the roads from France. When I reached the beach, I found there M. de la Villebague, M. Auger, M. Deschesnayes—the gentleman whose ship, the *Favori*, was seized and plundered at Acheen—and a few others, and I inquired of them whose vessel it was. M. de la Villebague informed me that it was the trading-ship *Marie Joseph* from Chandernagore, captain Champignon, that she was laden with cowries, and had apparently been to

Governor believes her to be from France.

Diarist proceeds to the beach.

Informed that she is the *Marie Joseph* of Chandernagore.

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Mascareigne, and was returning thence. "If so," I remarked, "she could not have come unaccompanied by others." He assured me that there was no doubt about it, and departed. A peon soon after brought a letter conveyed by the catamaran which had been despatched to her. It was received and read by M. Auger, who communicated to me its contents. These stated that the ship was the *Marie Joseph*, commanded by M. Champignon, and that she was laden with cowries, that she had come on in advance, leaving nine ships, including that of Admiral de la Bourdonnais, at a distance of seven leagues behind her, that these had on the way given battle with apparent success to some English men-of-war, and that they might be expected here either this evening, or to-morrow morning. Learning this, I returned in half an hour. The tidings of the arrival of the ships have awakened inexpressible joy in the breasts of the citizens of Pondichery. They manifested exhilaration such as though they had discovered a hidden hoard, or recovered a lost treasure; or as though their beloved dead had returned to life. They were all as gay as they would be on a wedding day, or when blessed with longed-for progeny, or when they had tasted the divine ambrosia. The following circumstances contributed to cause these universal rejoicings. Last year, no ships arrived at Pondichery from France, and none were despatched from this to that country. On the other hand, those bound for China, Manilla, and

Letter received from her.

This reports approach of squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais after a battle with English.

Great joy at Pondichery on receipt of the news.

Reasons for this.

Acheen, as well as sundry others, were all captured by the English. The consequence was the exhaustion of the Company's funds and of the resources of the merchants, and utter depression in all commercial transactions. Under these circumstances the news of the approach of the fleet, advised by this ship, was welcome, and it was hailed with acclamation.

Eight ships sighted.

This evening, some persons who ascended the flagstaff in the fort, declared that they descried ships, and in truth, at about two hours after sunset, eight were seen nearing the roads. As it was night, mortars and cannon were fired singly from the battery on the seashore, to the south of the fort, two or three of them being shotted for fear of a stealthy approach by English ships. The fire of the guns was returned by double discharges from the ships, which entertained no doubt of having been recognised. In this way the people in the fort, and those in the ships, exchanged salutes until midnight. Just after 2 o'clock, M. de la Bourdonnais, the commander of the fleet, landed, went to the Governor, was closeted with him for an hour, and then stepping into a boat, returned aboard. This was the state of affairs to-day.

M. de la Bourdonnais lands, visits the Governor, and returns.

Soon after the arrival, at noon, of the *Marie Joseph*, the Governor despatched a message directing the return of the ship and sloop which had sailed for Âlambarai. These were the occurrences of this day.

Ships which sailed for Alambarai recalled.

On her way to Pondichery, the *Marie Joseph* had touched at Kârikâl and embarked M. Mainville and a detachment of fifty soldiers, who landed here.

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Nine ships in the roads.

Saturday, 9th July 1746, or 29th Âni of Akshaya.—This morning, I found in the roads nine ships, being the eight which arrived last night, and that which reached this yesterday, at noon. At 8 o'clock, fifteen guns were fired from that which carried M. de la Bourdonnais, and the salute was returned by the fort.

Account of their voyage.

The following is the information concerning these ships: Five of them set sail from France in August 1745, touched at Mascareigne on the 3rd of the following February, and there were strengthened by the addition of four country craft equipped for war. The fleet thus reinforced, together with the Bengal merchant-man *Marie Joseph*, bore up for the island of Madagascar. Here they took on board some provisions, and continued their voyage. On their way, they encountered a violent storm which carried away their masts, and broke their rudders to pieces; the leaks sprung by some endangering their foundering. But, thanks to God, the wind soon abated, the violence of the sea subsided, the rain ceased, and they righted. The injured masts were replaced, and the ships were in other respects repaired, and refitted for the voyage, which they then resumed. They, however, met with another burst of severe weather which necessitated repairs for a second time. This over, they again held on their course, until they reached Point de Galle, in the roads of which they remained for thirty or forty days. Resuming their voyage, they were off Negapatam, and a little to the south of

The storms which they encountered.

Fleet calls at Point de Galle.

that port, when they fell in with an English fleet of six sail commanded by Mr. Peyton, which offered battle. The combat lasted from 4 in the afternoon to 7 in the evening, and took place three days ago. The French ships which engaged the English were those of M. de la Bourdonnais and M. de la Selle, and they appear to have fired 5,000 rounds. The English, some of whom were veteran warriors, and who had a force of six men-of-war, are said to have fought gallantly. They, however, were repulsed, and escaped only owing to their having the advantage of the wind, whilst the French had an unfavourable position. This incident however resulted in considerable loss of property, which was enhanced by boxes of ammunition in two of our ships having exploded. As the latter had on board a large quantity of silver, broad-cloth, wine, and other European articles, and as the French could not be certain of the ultimate result of pushing their victory home; and further as they were only within ten leagues of their destination, they considered it prudent to make the best of their way hither. Taking advantage accordingly of the confusion and dismay created amongst the enemy by the defeat which they had sustained, they hastened to Pondichery. It is said that two of the English ships were either sunk, or were damaged beyond repair, and that their crews perished. It would further appear that even amongst those on board the four which remained there was serious loss. This

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Battle with English under Commodore Peyton.

Repulse of English after a gallant fight.

Reason why French did not pursue their advantage.

Alleged losses of English.

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B. de la Bourdonnais lands and proceeds to the residence of the Governor.

evening at 5, M. de la Bourdonnais disembarked, and as he did so, fifteen guns were discharged by his ship. Another salute of fifteen guns was fired on his arrival at the sea-gate, where he was met by the Deputy Governor and other members of the Council, and by the captains and other officers—M. Dupleix alone excepted—and was escorted by them to the Governor's residence. On M. de la Bourdonnais entering this, the Governor received him at the sentinel's post, with an embrace, and conducted him into the courtyard, when a salute of fifteen guns was again fired. They afterwards conversed together for a while in the open space on the other side of the verandah.

Who receives him at the sentinel's post.

Treasure, etc., brought by the fleet.

Silver weighing 40,000 marcs, and gold worth a lakh of rupees, were brought by the ships. The exact quantity of the broad-cloth and brandy aboard, is not known. Nor is it certain whether a chest of coral has come.

Passengers who came by it.

Two of the sons of M. Dulaurens, the one aged twenty-one, and the other eighteen, came as passengers : another is said to be in France living with M. Dumas. This information has been furnished to me by M. Miran.

Arrival of M. Paradis.

At 7 this night, M. Paradis arrived by boat from Kârikâl, with a detachment of 140 soldiers.

Chinna Mudali and diarist visit M. Dulaurens.

Chinna Mudali and I visited M. Dulaurens, whom we congratulated on the arrival of his two sons.

Rumour of dismissal of certain officials.

It is rumoured that orders have been received for the dismissal from the service of the Company of the Deputy Governor, and M. Guilliard.

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Silver and wounded landed.

This day, the chests of silver which were on board the ships, and a few of the wounded, were brought ashore.

Sunday, 10th July 1746, or 30th Âni of Akshaya.—After dawn to-day, the remainder of the wounded, and some bales of broad-cloth were landed.

Chinna Mudali and diarist visit M. de la Bourdonnais.

In the morning, Chinna Mudali and I paid a visit to M. de la Bourdonnais, and welcomed him.

Departure of priest of diarist, and others.

Monday, 11th July 1746, or 31st Âni of Akshaya.—Singrâ Châri my priest, and those who had brought presents from Bommarâja pâḷaiyam on the 7th of Vaigâsi [17th May], departed for that place, at 10 this morning. The following is an account of the gifts which I made them :—

Details of presents made to them by him.

For delivery to Venkaṭa Narasinga Râjâ ; a large horse which had been held in common by Kanakarâya Mudali and me during his life-time, but which I subsequently purchased for my own use, crimson brocade, a Guzarâti girdle, a silk turban, and a jewel for the same.

For delivery to Nâraṇa Bhaṭṭan, the Brâhman in the service of the Râjâ ; two yards of superfine crimson broad-cloth ; and to his wife, a cloth and a bodice, costing Rs. 19.

For delivery to Pedda Aiyavâr, the Râjâ's writer ; two yards of Mocha * broad-cloth.

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* This was the popular name for "Londrin" or "London" *i.e.* English broad-cloth. *See* foot-note at page 264.

To Singrâ Châri my priest, and Aiyâbirâlaiyan; each two yards of red Mocha broad-cloth; to their wives, each, a cloth costing Rs. 12, and a bodice of white silk; together with a broad-cloth cap for each of the men, and 6 rupees for expenses.

To the bachelor Brâhman who came in company with the foregoing; an inferior laced cloth costing Rs. 4-8-0; to the cook, a couple of small cloths worth Rs. 2; and to the peon, a head-cloth worth half a pagoda, and a sheet worth 8 fanams.

Letters entrusted to them for delivery.

I also gave them letters for delivery to the Râjâ, Nârana Bhattan, and Pedda Aiyavâr. I sent the persons mentioned below to accompany the presents; viz., Krishna Sâstri, Varada Aiyangâr, Râyal Aiyan and two peons; as also Ârumuga Pandâram, a physician, to treat the Râjâ. They took leave of me, spent the night at my Brâhman village, and afterwards resumed their journey.

Persons sent by diarist with the party.

M. Desmarêts visits diarist at his storehouse.

Tuesday, 12th July 1746, or 32nd Âni of Akshaya.—This morning M. Desmarêts went to interview the Governor, but finding the entrance to his house closed, he came to the arecanut storehouse, where I was. I requested him to furnish me with the latest intelligence from the French ships just arrived, and asked him whether he had yet heard anything. He replied as follows :—

Relates to him proposals made by M. Dupleix to the Company.

" M. Dupleix informed the Company that the climate of Pondichery did not agree with him, and on this plea submitted the following alternative proposals for their acceptance. These were that he

should be transferred to Chandernagore, making that the seat of the central Government, and subordinating the other settlements—including Pondichery—to its control; or that Chandernagore should be constituted an independent Government like Mascareigne, with M. Dupleix, on his existing emoluments, at its head—he being made directly responsible to the Directors for all his acts. He offered, in the event of either of the foregoing suggestions being accepted, his services, as Governor, for the full term of his life. He also, it is stated, propitiated the Comptroller-General with presents in view to inducing him to support his proposals. M. Dupleix has accordingly, so it is understood, been appointed Governor of Chandernagore, which is to be raised to an independent settlement having no concern with Pondichery, and to be under the direct control of the Directors. The orders of the Company on the subject are expected by the seven ships which are shortly to arrive. M. Dupleix will therefore be a Governor for life. He will be succeeded at Pondichery by M. de Leyrit the brother of M. d'Espréménil, from Mahé, where M. de Leyrit's present Deputy, M. Louët, will be appointed as Director."

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Mentions report that M. Dupleix has been appointed Governor of Chandernagore.

And appointments to be made in consequence of this.

M. Desmarêts continued :

"France has conferred on M. Dumas a life-grant of the jâgîr of Azhisapâkkam, which is virtually the settlement of an annuity of 5,000 crowns on him. The French have, of their own motion, leased Azhisapâkkam to him for this amount, stipulating

Life-grant of a jagir made by France to M. Dumas.

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that the jâgîr shall pass to the Company on his death. His influence in France is great. The King having lent funds to the Company, caused an examination of the accounts of the Directors to be made by a Royal Commission consisting of twelve members. This has led to the investigation of M. Dumas's accounts —a circumstance to which the grant of Azhisapâkkam and the lease of it by the Company owe their origin. The matter however cost M. Dumas the making of considerable presents at the time of the inquiry, and it was by these means that he has obtained the enjoyment of Azhisapâkkam, subject to resumption of it by the Company after his death. The same twelve Commissioners are now engaged in the investigation of the transactions of M. de la Bourdonnais, and this apparently does not bid fair to conclude happily for him."

How he obtained the grant.

Investigation of transactions of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Further conversation with M. Desmarêts.

Thereupon I observed : "We cannot say what a liberal gift might not effect here also." Coinciding with my remark, he said that the passing of orders in accordance with the wishes of an individual depended on the extent to which he lavished presents on the Comptroller-General.

Our conversation afterwards turned on general topics bearing on the affairs of Europe and this country, to chronicle which would probably require twenty pages, but which I pass over on account of their unimportance. I have recorded the essentials.

Meeting of the Council.

This morning at 9, the Council met, but what business was transacted is not known.

The European soldiers who recently landed have been told off by fifties as guards at the Madras and other gates of Pondichery.

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This morning, guns were heard in the direction of Cuddalore and Fort. St. David. It was conjectured that the English ships which had appeared off Negapatam must have arrived in the roads at these places. Each man, as his imagination moved him, expressed his views on the subject.

Conjectured arrival of English squadron at Cuddalore and Fort St. David.

The Governor addressed a letter to Mîr Ghulâm Husain advising him of the arrival of the fleet from France, of its having had a battle with the English on the way, of the defeat of the latter, and of the victorious arrival of the French ships in the roadstead at Pondichery. A similar letter was also despatched by me. In his communication to Mîr Ghulâm Husain, the Governor expressed the hope of being able, on the arrival of the seven additional ships shortly expected, to return the lakh of rupees lent by him, and promised to remit at once the interest which had accrued on this sum. A private letter was also addressed by the Governor to Husain Sâhib, in which, after referring to the arrival of ten French vessels, the attack made on them by the English, and the beating off of the latter, he stated that the 10,000 pagodas owed by him would be remitted, and requested that some one should be despatched to receive the money.

Official intimation to Mir Ghulâm Husain of arrival of French squadron and defeat of English.

The letter promises at early date return of loan.

Governor repeats this privately.

Those having communication with Cuddalore and Fort. St. David report that the inhabitants of these

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Flight of people at Cuddalore and Fort St. David.

places, having heard of the arrival of fleet at Pondichery, are deserting their houses.

Wednesday, 13th July 1746, or 1st Âḍi of Akshaya, constellation Kârttigai.—Some time ago, on account of a misunderstanding at Tanjore between Rangô Paṇḍit and Annappa Seṭṭigai, the former, quitting that town, resided for some time at Uḍaiyârpâḷaiyam, and has since betaken himself to Pondichery. This man visited me, and stated that he had received advice of Annappa Seṭṭigai having been committed to prison on 10th of Âni [20th June] last, and of the appointment of Manôji Appâ in his room; and he added that his brothers had written to him at the instance of Sêtugôswâmi and Manôji Appâ to proceed to Tanjore, in order to settle certain matters. He proposes going there, leaving his son and wife here, but contemplates bringing them to Tanjore after he has disposed of his business. He bade me farewell, and intends starting to-morrow.

Rangô Paṇḍit visiting diarist, informs him of imprisonment of A. Settigai.

And that he is going to Tanjore on business.

This morning, M. de la Bourdonnais passed through the Villiyanallûr gate, on his way to Ozhukarai. The soldiers there, observing this, honoured him by turning out, and forming up as a guard of honour. He however sent word to them by his peon that such a ceremonial was unnecessary, as he was not wearing uniform, but had on only a dressing gown and night-cap. Nevertheless they paid him the honour, and beat the "Tambour." * On

M. de la Bourdonnais starts for Ozhukarai.

Guards turn out and beat the "Tambour."

* This was the minor form of salute, and was accorded to officials of inferior degree. It still exists in the French Army.

his return from Ozhukarai, M. de la Bourdonnais entered by the Vazhudâvûr gate at which, too, the soldiers holding it turned out, and received him with a guard of honour. On M. de la Bourdonnais pointing out to them, as he had to those at the Villiyanallûr gate, the needlessness of observing this ceremony, the guard was dismissed. Again, when he entered the fort gate, the soldiers there prepared to fall in as a guard of honour, but on being advised as those at the town-gates had been, they withdrew. M. de la Bourdonnais afterwards sent for M. Duquesne and said to him: "Because I am within the jurisdiction of your Governor, your guards, when I pass them, beat the "Tambour" for me, an honour accorded to the Deputy Governor. But I suppose that you will not take exception to the beating, as is done in the case of the Governor, of the "Tambour-auxchamps" * for me when surrounded by my own majors, captains, and soldiers?" M. Duquesne replied that he could not allow it. Thereupon M. de la Bourdonnais preferred a complaint to the Governor against M. Duquesne, alleging that the latter had said that he would permit the beating of the "Tambour" alone, when M. de la Bourdonnais passed the guards, and that if this was not acceptable to him he need not show himself. Thereupon, M. Dupleix summoned M. Duquesne, and called upon

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On his return he refuses the honour.

M. de la Bourdonnais sends for M. Duquesne.

Asks him if he will permit the beating of the "Tambour-aux-champs" amongst his own men.

He refuses to allow it and M. de la Bourdonnais prefers a complaint to the Governor.

* This was the major form of salute, and was accorded only to officials of high degree. It still exists in the French Army.

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He interrogates M. Duquesne.

him for an explanation as to why he had said to M. de la Bourdonnais that the "Tambour" would be beaten for him, and that if he pleased he might pass through the ranks of the guards, and if not, he need not. M. Duquesne denied having made a statement as alleged and averred that what he had said was that the honour of the "Tambour" could alone be accorded to M. de la Bourdonnais, and that if he desired the "Tambour-aux-champs," the permission of the Governor must be obtained,—but that he made no mention of passing through the ranks. M. Dupleix, though within himself he believed that M. Duquesne would not have spoken as represented by M. de la Bourdonnais, nevertheless, and in order to gratify the latter, directed the confinement of M. Duquesne in the belfry of the fort, remarking at the same time that M. de la Bourdonnais, being a gentleman, would not have lied, and that it was he who misrepresented facts. M. de la Bourdonnais, should have taken the hint, and interceding on behalf of M. Duquesne, have requested the countermanding of the order. But he remained silent, with the desire that the punishment adjudged should be inflicted, and M. Duquesne was committed to custody. The point which hurts the feelings of M. de la Bourdonnais is that he should be denied the honour of the "Tambour-aux-champs," accorded to the Governor, though he has himself been a Governor, and is now vested by the King with the command of ships of war. On the other hand, M. Dupleix

Who denies the charge.

But who is placed in confinement.

Remarks of diarist on this affair.

Grievance of M. de la Bourdonnais as regards the "Tambour-aux-champs."

argues that he alone is the Governor of this city; that M. de la Bourdonnais, although independent when afloat, ceases to be so, and becomes his subordinate, as soon as he sets foot on shore; and that the claim on his part is therefore a presumptuous one. M. Dupleix's grievance is that M. de la Bourdonnais maintains a body guard of eighteen troopers, causes flourishes of trumpets to be sounded, and the big drum to be beaten when he is at dinner, and assumes other honours exclusively reserved for the Governor. Thus M. Dupleix and M. de la Bourdonnais are, at heart, jealous of one another's rights and privileges, though they preserve an outward appearance of amity.

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Views of M. Dupleix on the subject.

Grievance of M. Dupleix against M. de la Bourdonnais.

The two jealous one of the other.

Thursday, 14th July 1746 or 2nd Âdi of Akshaya.—This morning, M. Duquesne was released from confinement.

M. Duquesne released.

M. de la Bourdonnais landed some of those who were aboard the ships; and mustering all his soldiers, who had been posted at the city gates in forties and fifties, as also his officers, and the men whom he had brought ashore, held a parade opposite to the Governor's house, and reviewed them. He then stood in their midst, when he was saluted by them with their weapons, after the manner of the Governor. After the parade was over, he repaired to M. Desjardins' house, which had been assigned to him as a residence. The parade held by M. de la Bourdonnais was not attended or witnessed by M. Dupleix, who pretended to be asleep

M. de la Bourdonnais holds a review of his men.

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This not attended by M. Dupleix who pretends to be asleep.

Mutual dislike of these two, and reasons for this.

all the while, and then having dressed after the troops had dispersed, came out to sit as usual in the courtyard. The Deputy Governor and others, who had for some time been waiting outside, presented themselves before him. M. de la Bourdonnais also paid him a visit. The Governor and he entertain a mutual dislike for one another. The former is aggrieved because M. de la Bourdonnais does not regard himself as his subordinate, maintains a guard of honour of troopers, keeps at his residence a party of soldiers and troopers, and conducts everything independently, and without consultation with him; whilst M. de la Bourdonnais holds that he is on a par with the Governor, and is consequently entitled to all the honours accorded to that functionary; and that the control of military operations resting wholly with him, he is not bound to consult the Governor in matters connected therewith. Thus business is transacted between them with but little cordiality. The future development of this remains to be seen.

Rango Pandit visits diarist.

This morning at 9, Rangô Paṇḍit, who had come from Tanjore, informed me that he had received a letter from his brothers there stating that their affairs were in a flourishing condition, and that he had been invited to return home. He consequently took leave of me, and departed. Three years ago, owing to a misunderstanding between him and Annappa Seṭṭigai at Tanjore, he had betaken himself to Karuppûr in Uḍaiyârpâḷaiyam, and thence came to

And departs for Tanjore.

Pondichery. It is now two years since he arrived here. On the 10th of Âni [20th June] last, Annappa Seṭṭigai was placed in confinement, and all his property was confiscated by Pratâp Sing Râjâ. His brother-in-law, Sultânji Appâ, together with his brothers, and Viṭal Paṇḍit, as also all his dependents, were likewise imprisoned, and their property too was seized. Their accounts are still under examination. The office held by Annappa Seṭṭigai has been bestowed upon Manôji Appâ. Sêtugôswâmi the priest of the Râjâ, and Manôji Appâ the present secretary, have both promised to give Rangô Paṇḍit the charge of a subah, and to cause the restoration of all his property, including his houses. He said that his brothers had written to him to this effect.

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Promises made to Rango Pandit by authorities at Tanjore.

Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan and Sungu Mutturâma Cheṭṭi requested Rangô Paṇḍit to use his influence in realising for them the debts due by their agent Addapalli Venkaṭarâma Cheṭṭi, Drâkshâ Bâlu Cheṭṭi, and some others. They offered, in the event of the Râjâ taking measures for the recovery of the claims, to pay to the darbar 30 per cent. of the gross collections. They also executed a deed empowering Rangô Paṇḍit to act as their agent for a period of nine months, and the latter has given a counter agreement.

Request made to him to use his influence in recovery of certain debts.

Arrangement made with him.

I asked Rangô Paṇḍit to take the son of Narasappa Nâyakkan, who had been at Tirukkânji for about a month, to Tanjore, and appoint him as an officer or superintendent of some sort; and

Diarist asks him to give a certain man a post at Tanjore.

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He departs.

he consented to do so. I then presented him with four jewels, and bade him farewell. He took leave of me, stating that he would proceed on his journey by way of Villiyanallûr. His children and all the other members of his family remain here. He has gone alone, and said that he would write from Tanjore, as to when they might follow him.

News from Fort St. David and Cuddalore.

Friday, 15th July 1746, or 3rd Âḍi of Akshaya.—The news of to-day from Fort St. David is this: As the English men-of-war which attacked those of the French off Negapatam, and were routed, have not yet been sighted, the merchants and inhabitants of Fort St. David and Cuddalore are sending their articles of value and their furniture, together with their women and children, to Porto Novo, and the men alone remain there. Ôrkaṇḍi Rangappa Nâyakkan, the dubâsh of Mr. Hinde, Governor of Fort St. David, was the first to despatch his wife, children, and his property, to Porto Novo; others then followed his example. The alarm which the reverse has excited in the breasts of the people of those places—natives as well as Europeans—is beyond description. Of the Dutch traders and artisans at Porto Novo who betook themselves to Fort St. David and Cuddalore during the late Mahratta inroad, the major portion remained there. But all of them have now, with their belongings, promptly returned to Porto Novo. Cuddalore and Fort St. David are deserted, but Porto Novo is as flourishing, and brisk with trade, as it used to be.

Flight of people to Porto Novo, and alarm caused by reverse of English.

Return of Dutch traders and artisans to Porto Novo.

The citizens of Madras are without exception overwhelmed with consternation, the wealthy there, and those who carry on mercantile transactions with Arcot and the neighbouring country are transferring their goods to that town, and the rest of the population is also in a state of unrest. It is said that trustworthy information has been received to this effect. It is reported that Sambu Dâs, the son of Sankarapârik, went to Arcot four or five days ago, and that his children are preparing to follow him Reliable intelligence has also been received that the Governor, Mr. Morse, who is a man wholly destitute of courage and fortitude, is much broken in spirit, that vigorous arrangements are being made for the defence of the fort, and that the ships are being brought nearer the shore and are being supplied with arms and ammunition. The people there are said to be utterly cast down, as their ruler is wanting in presence of mind. The French will, ere long, be further reinforced by ships which have already anchored at Point de Galle, and their expected arrival is now known both to the French, and to the English, through a Dutch sloop which met them, and has brought news that they have reached Negapatam. These tidings, whilst they have enhanced the enthusiasm of the French, have broken the spirit of the English. Twenty chests of silver belonging to Mr. Barnet, and a thousand and odd packages, the property of the Company, which were at Fort St. David, have been transferred to Madras.

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Governor there stated to have broken down.

News of reinforcement of ships for the French.

Property of Mr. Barnet and Company transferred to Madras.

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Merchants and English about Fort St. David bring their property into fort.

The merchants within and beyond the precincts of Fort St. David, are packing up their goods, and lodging them, for security, in the fort, whither—so our spies have ascertained—the English of the surrounding localities, such as Cuddalore, Vaṇḍipâḷaiyam, and Fort St. David, are likewise transferring their property.

Death of captain of one of recently arrived ships.

Saturday, 16th July 1746, or 4th Âḍi of Akshaya.—The captain of one of the five sail which recently arrived, and whose name is not known to me, died this morning, after an illness. The colours of his ship were half-masted, and minute guns were fired until his remains were interred, when a salvo was discharged by the whole fleet together. The funeral took place at half-past 5 this evening.

Governor comments to diarist on M. de la Bourdonnais.

In the course of conversation with me this morning at 9, the Governor said as follows: "M. de la Bourdonnais is a strange man, with an ungovernable temper. He is a babbler. His injustice at Mascareigne drove the inhabitants there to petition against him to the Minister in France. He was on the point of being executed; but thanks to his good luck, which seems to attend him still, he effected his escape by propitiating with lavish presents M. de Fulvy, the brother of the Comptroller-General, who was open to bribes. With a squadron of seven sail he set out on an expedition to Arabia, boasting that he would subjugate that country. But he failed in this project, and thereby caused serious loss to the Company. He

And makes very disparaging remarks.

is a great impostor." M. Dupleix said many other disparaging things of M. de la Bourdonnais. Not only did I throughout express myself in harmony with his views, but I dwelt at length, and in highly eulogistic terms, on the address with which he administered the affairs of this city at so critical a time as the present, and on the tact with which he expended from his own purse two lakhs of pagodas to relieve the townsmen from embarrassment, and maintain them in prosperity such as though they were in times when trade and commerce were at their best. I remarked that the ability and success of the administration of his predecessors could not bear comparison with those of his, and that it was problematical whether any of his successors would reach the standard of his qualifications; and I averred that there was no man in India who could conduct affairs of state with the consummate skill that he had displayed at the momentous period of the threatened attack by the English on Pondichery, when they captured all the French ships, and intercepted all the sloops and native craft bound thither. I asserted further that the Company could not in future secure the services of a like officer.

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Diarist speaks very flatteringly to the Governor as regards his administration.

And refers to the skill displayed when the English threatened Pondichery.

I talked to him for a long while; showering encomiums on him. M. Dupleix resuming the conversation, said:

M. Dupleix resumes the conversation.

"The universal opinion of the officers who accompanied M. de la Bourdonnais is that it was

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Mentions the opinion of the officers of M. de la Bourdonnais as to the escape of the English.

undoubtedly his neglect that permitted the escape of the English ships, and that all of them could have been captured. This is what they individually stated when having personal interviews with me. But his explanation is that he had on board vast quantities of goods and treasure, and that three of the ships were absolutely without provisions—pleas which, I suppose, must be accepted. This circumstance led to their escape. But under similar conditions in the future, they must not be let off; and must fight to the last: one side must be destroyed by the other. There should be no alternative."

And refers with remarks to that officer's explanation.

Diarist alludes to certain ships carrying treasure.

Expressing myself in a manner which was agreeable to his feelings, I continued the conversation by observing that three ships laden with treasure had sailed from Madras for Calcutta.* In response to this he referred to one of the frigates which had arrived from France and had subsequently left for that place, and assured me that she singly could overpower and capture all these. This closed our talk, in the course of which various other matters were also discussed. I have however committed the leading points to paper.

Remarks of Governor touching these.

News regarding doings at Fort St. David.

The news this evening is that the Governor of Fort St. David has summoned the merchants there, and notified to them that they have his permission to send their children, money, and goods, to such places as they think fit, and that they have done so.

* The word used in the original is "Bengal."

This intelligence has been furnished by Guruvappa Chetti, as having heard it from the brother of Vîrâ Chetti, who has returned from Fort St. David and Cuddalore.

Funeral of the deceased naval captain.

The funeral of the naval captain who died this morning took place in the evening. Two hundred soldiers formed the procession, which marched with the royal standard, and with drums and pipes. M. de la Bourdonnais and all the captains of the ships accompanied it, and were present at the interment of the corpse in the church. The ceremony was performed in an imposing manner; the soldiers fired three volleys, and each ship twenty-one guns: seven were also fired from the fort.

Envoys arrive from certain persons in Tanjore.

Sunday, 17th July 1746, or 5th Âdi of Akshaya.— This morning, one Râmalinga Aiyan, deputed by Râmakrishṇa Piḷḷai the minister of Sivaganga Nâlukôṭṭuḍaiyâ Têvan,* of the Nanda Gôpâla † caste, and another Brâhman, named . . . ,‡ sent by Kâtavarâya Piḷḷai of Tanjore arrived here. Their ostensible purpose is to seek a bride for the son of Râmakrishṇa Piḷḷai, but in reality their mission is to negotiate an alliance between those chiefs and the French. For this purpose, they propose either to sell or lease Sundarapâṇḍiyanpaṭṭaṇam, or Toṇḍi, to the French, or if they so elect, to allow them to establish a factory under the authority of a lease

Their object to obtain alliance with French.

* The Râja of Sivaganga.

† The cow-herd caste, to which diarist himself belonged.

‡ Blank in original.

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subject to a light rental and other charges. The French are given the choice of any of the foregoing proposals, and it is stipulated that in return they should, in times of war, side with them, and assist them with arms and ammunition; and that there should be free commercial intercourse between their territories, and those of the French. In view to promote such an interchange, they promise to assign, without pecuniary consideration, villages worth 2,000 pons, and they ask that the attitude of the French towards them should be one of lasting friendship and affection. Râmalinga Aiyan has been sent hither with this object, and has brought a written message to the foregoing effect. It is now four days since they arrived. I listened to what they had to say, and perused the letters brought by them. I addressed a suitable reply to Râmakrishṇa Piḷḷai, and another to Tanjore Kâtavarâya Piḷḷai, advising the latter of the purport of the communication addressed to Râmakrishṇa Piḷḷai. I at the same time communicated to Râmalinga Aiyan and the Brâhman from Kâtavarâyan such of the messages to their masters as could or should be told to them in person. The former has been presented with two yards of yellow broad-cloth, and the latter with a head-cloth worth three-fourths of a pagoda. They have this day taken leave and started on their return journey.

Diarist hears their statements and peruses letters brought by them.

To which he sends suitable replies.

The envoys return to Tanjore.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM JULY 18TH, 1746, TO JULY 30TH, 1746.

Death of wife of Deputy Governor—Her funeral—Previous eccentric character of deceased—Her subsequent insanity, and confinement —Letter to Governor from Nawâb of Arcot—Requests fulfilment of a certain agreement—Terms of reply sent—Explanations offered in this—Early compliance promised—Remarks as to improbability of a further application—Letter relative to private loan due by Governor —Diarist waits on M. de la Bourdonnais and Governor—Former entertains Madame Dupleix—Diarist learns that Tânappa Mudali has absented himself from duty—His informant asks him to accompany Tânappa Mudali to Governor—Refuses unless sent for—Governor subsequently summons him—Directs him to write a certain letter—Diarist tells him the news from Negapatam and Madras—He desires diarist to obtain remission of interest on private loan due by him—He despatches letter as ordered by Governor—Departure of *Marie Joseph* —Frigate despatched to capture English shipping—Diarist pays his respects to Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais—Council sits—M. de la Bourdonnais, after a short stay, quits it,—Diarist told that certain official letters are unanswered—Conversation with his informant, Madanânda Paṇḍit—Who requests him to speak to Governor on the subject, but he declines—Reflections on news given by Madanânda Paṇḍit—Reasons for his anxiety that Chinna Mudali should be appointed—The base characters of the two—Illustration of that of Madanânda Paṇḍit—Object of Chinna Mudali in absenting himself—Report that Madame Dupleix will entertain M. de la Bourdonnais—*Marie Gertrude* ordered to lie at Âlambarai under false colours—Her ostensible errand —Sails under assumed name—Joined by a sloop—Two native craft captured—Prove not to be English—Released—Diarist reports reply of chief dubash of Fort St. David—Governor satisfied—Informs diarist of intention of taking certain goods in payment of claim on the Company—Requests him to sell these—Conversation on the subject —Diarist presents Marakkâyan to Governor—Stratagem of Madanânda Paṇḍit to obtain information regarding chief dubâshship—Failure of this—Accountant Ranga Piḷḷai informs diarist—Reflections on conduct of Madanânda Paṇḍit—Communicates to Governor letter from Rangappa Nâyakkan—The reply sent to this—Ḥusain Ṣâḥib requests extradition of a fugitive—M. de la Bourdonnais entertains Governor—Malaiyappa Mudali and friend fail to see the Governor—Tânappa Mudali directed to inquire regarding certain ships at Cuddalore—Objects, but promises to send a man—Madanânda Paṇḍit speaks to diarist of rejection by Chinna Mudali of all arguments to induce him to take office—Mentions that Chinna Mudali is willing to accept office jointly with diarist, and that he sent word to Madame Dupleix as to his

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unfitness—Hanger-on of an ex-servant of M. de la Bourdonnais', spy of English—Arrested, and confined—Informant receives large reward—Governor hands certain articles to diarist, and instructs him as to disposal of them—Gives him a letter, and enjoins secrecy as to contents—Directs him to find pilot for certain ports in Ceylon—Conversation with M. Lhostis touching a certain bond—Joint trade venture of M. de la Villebague and diarist—The former settles accounts—They meet M. Dubois, who congratulates diarist on appointment as courtier—His reply—Remarks of M. Dubois on this—Conversation between Europeans on the subject—M. de la Villebague makes some observations—Alludes to opposition of the priests—Refers to unfitness of Chinna Mudali—And suggests that diarist is the fittest person for appointment—Subsequent conversation on general topics.

Death of wife of the Deputy Governor.

Monday, 18th July 1746, or 6th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning at 7, the wife of the Deputy Governor M. Legou, expired in the hospital here. Her remains were removed to his house, the entrance and door-ways of which were, according to the manners and customs of his people, covered with black cloth. The body was also clad in black, and candles were kept burning around it. The wife of the Governor, and all other Europeans, visited the relatives, to condole with them. The funeral took place this evening, and was attended by the Governor, M. de la Bourdonnais, and all others. A hundred soldiers were ranged in a line on either side of cortége. Commencing at 3 o'clock, guns were fired, at intervals of two minutes, both from the ship of the Admiral, and from the fort, where the colours were hoisted half-mast. The coffin was borne by soldiers, and escorted by four Councillors, each of whom walked, touching it, and wearing a sash of black crape across his breast; whilst the Governor and other European gentlemen and ladies formed

Account of her funeral.

the procession. The cortége—which included the son of the deceased, but not her husband or daughters—proceeded from the house to the church of the Capuchins. The coffin was placed in the grave, with the usual religious ceremonies: after the performance of these the soldiers fired two volleys, and then each a single shot. Fifteen guns were also fired from the fort, and another fifteen simultaneously from each of the eight ships of the squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais The Governor and all others who took part in the procession returned in their palanquins, offered their condolences to M. Legou, and repaired to their residences. We also waited on him, and returned. M. Legou's marriage with the deceased had been productive of little domestic felicity to him. She was so cross-grained that she would not allow any one to enter her house, nor would she herself visit others or permit her husband to do so; and she would not admit her own sons and daughters into her presence. Her conduct, induced by her craziness, appeared quite different from that of others of her sex. In spite of every effort on her husband's part to humour her whims and caprices, she was morose and peevish, and would, at times, become so excited as to drag him down and attack him, all which, in order to prevent unpleasant scenes and scandal, he endured for a considerable period. About seven years ago, she became so demented that she knocked him down, and seizing his throat, struck and bit him. When this

Firing of funeral salutes from fort and ships.

Previous eccentric character of deceased.

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Her subsequent insanity and confinement.

matter was reported to the then Governor M. Dumas, he despatched assistance, and caused her to be conveyed to the hospital, where she has remained ever since, and has now died

Letter to the Governor from Nawab of Arcot.

This day, a letter was received by a camel courier from the Nawâb of Arcot. The contents of it were:

"At the time of the grant of the permit to coin rupees, you executed an agreement to deliver for the mint at Âlambarai silver at the rate of 50,000 pagodas for every trade-ship that arrived. We now hear that some ships have come from Europe; a fact which affords us much pleasure. We request that in conformity with your agreement you will be pleased to supply us with silver, at the rate of 50,000 pagodas for each of these. The equivalent of the same we will duly pay in pagodas."

Requests fulfilment of a certain agreement touching supply of silver.

Despatch of a reply ordered.

The letter was read to the Governor, who ordered the despatch of a reply in the following terms:—

Terms of this.

"It is a fact, no doubt, that we formerly supplied from every ship of ours silver to the value of 50,000 pagodas, at the rate of 7 pagodas and 2 fanams [a seer]. This was, however, in consequence of the particular friendship which subsisted between Ẕuhûr Khân and ourselves, and of the solicitude and interest which he exhibited in our concerns; and was intended to be a special concession to him. Since his death, silver has not been supplied by us at this rate. We have received only a small consignment of it by the ships which have recently arrived, and all of this has been coined into rupees, to meet our own require-

Explanations offered in it.

ments. But a further supply will come to hand by seven ships which are expected shortly, and from this we will, out of regard for you, give you the quantity that you may require, at the rate of 7 pagodas and 2 fanams. We will forthwith give you intimation of the arrival of the fleet."

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Early compliance promised.

A despatch to the foregoing effect has been sent. But now silver is cheaper in the market, and sells for 7 pagodas, less 1 fanam. Consequently, the Nawâb is not likely, after receiving this reply, to press his demand. Moreover, the original agreement provided that irrespective of rise or fall in the price of silver, it should be supplied at 7 pagodas and 2 fanams. Any further application from him is therefore open to doubt.

Remarks of diarist as to improbability of a further application.

A letter has been received from Asad Ṣâḥib the son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, in which he mentions that he will come here to receive repayment of 10,000 pagodas lent by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, for the private use of the Governor.

Letter relative to private loan due by the Governor.

Tuesday, 19th July 1746, or 7th Âḍi of Akshaya.— To-day nothing particularly noteworthy took place. In the morning, M. de la Bourdonnais sent for me to speak with him on certain matters connected with goods, and I accordingly attended. I afterwards waited on the Governor, and then repaired to the arecanut storehouse, whence I returned home. At noon, M. de la Bourdonnais entertained the wife of the Governor at a banquet, on which occasion twenty-one guns were fired simultaneously by all the ships.

Diarist waits on M. de la Bourdonnais and the Governor.

Former entertains Me. Dupleix at a banquet.

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Diarist learns that Tanappa Mudali had absented himself from duty.

Wednesday, 20th July 1746, or 8th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This day, Madanânda Paṇḍit paid me a visit, and mentioned that Tânappa Mudali, the younger brother of Kanakarâya Mudali, had absented himself from his duties. I inquired to what this was owing, and whether it was on account of any indisposition. He said that it was because he had taken to heart the fact that he had not yet been confirmed in office, and that he was grieved that his position was nothing more than that of a cooly. I observed that there was no harm in this, that the appointment could not slip through his fingers, and that it would sooner or later be conferred upon him. Madanânda Paṇḍit's reply was that Tânappa Mudali was of a different opinion, that he was not the person to stay at home, even for half an Indian hour, had he believed that he had any prospect of success, that he, no doubt, had until then been hopeful, but that he was now desperate, and that consequently, instead of boldly refusing to do duty, he had absented himself on the pretext of illness. I then remarked that if it was only for his constantly moving about, some encouragement should be shown to him, and that the Governor ought to have given it.

Conversation on this subject with his informant.

Madanânda Paṇḍit then brought to my notice that a letter which had been received four or five days ago from Mîr Ṣâḥib was lying over unheeded, and that Chinna Mudali desired him to seek my aid in disposing of it, and to ask me to accompany him to the Governor. But I declined to go, stating that it

Who asks him to go with Tanappa Mudali to Governor.

Diarist refuses this unless sent for.

was none of my business, that Chinna Mudali should see to it himself, and that I would have no hand in it unless the Governor, after finding that Chinna Mudali could not understand him, required my services, and sent for me. Thereupon Madanânda Paṇḍit, and Krishṇaiyan the Hasty, repaired to the residence of the Governor, who, some time after this, summoned me, and told me to write a letter, subscribed by myself, inquiring of the dubâsh of the Governor of Fort St. David whether his master required red wine. I said "very well." He then entrusted to me four pieces of cloth to be dyed blue, and of these I took charge. He then asked what the news from Negapatam and places thereabout was. "I have heard," said I, "of the arrival of an English ship at Trincomalee, of new ones being built and fitted out there, of the aid given by the Dutch at Negapatam in the shape of the necessary materials—such as sail-cloth and cables—, and of the disembarkation at Negapatam of some of the wounded English." On my adding that I could not vouch for the correctness of this, the Governor informed me that it was all true. I further told him that the people at Madras were clearing the cocoanut gardens to the north of that city; and that they were all in a state of alarm, and on the watch. He confirmed this intelligence also. He then referred to the sum of 10,000 pagodas which had to be repaid to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and asked me to persuade that individual's son-in-law, Asad Ṣâḥib, when he arrived,

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Governor subsequently summons him.

And directs him to write to the dubash at Fort St. David.

Diarist tells him the news from Negapatam.

And from Madras.

He desires diarist to obtain remission of interest on private loan due by him.

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to dispense with the demand for interest. I promised to do this, and to let him know the result of the negotiations. Some Europeans and captains of ships having then come, I took leave of him, and departed.

Diarist despatches letter to dubash of Fort St. David.

As directed by the Governor, I despatched a note to Rangappa Nâyakkan at Fort St. David, and delivered the four pieces of cloth to Golla Rangan, with instructions to dye them properly, and return them to me.

Departure of *Marie Joseph* for Chandernagore.

To-day, the Bengal trader *Marie Joseph*, was despatched to Chandernagore. Of the eight ships fitted out for war, one has been laden with provisions, water, arms, and other warlike requisites, and has been ordered to cruise as far as Porto Novo, in order to capture and bring to Pondichery any small ships, sloops, and boats, which either belong to the English, or have on board Englishmen bound for Fort St. David, Cuddalore, or Madras. The captain of the frigate is said to be M. de la Gatinais. I do not know whether he has received any other confidential instructions. I have committed to writing what I have heard.

Frigate despatched to seek and capture English shipping.

Diarist pays his respects to Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais.

Thursday, 21st July 1746, or 9th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning at 8, I called at the house of the Governor, where I found him and M. de la Bourdonnais conversing together, and I paid my respects to them. Some time after this, all the Councillors arrived, and a council was held. M. de la Bourdonnais was present at it, and after talking on certain subjects for half an Indian hour, he quitted the

Council held.

M. de la Bourdonnais, after short stay, quits it.

council, and departed. The Governor and the other Councillors, however, continued their deliberations. The nature of these, and the decisions arrived at, are not known.

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Sitting continued.

As I was on my way to the arecanut storehouse Madanânda Paṇḍit acquainted me with the fact that letters from Mîr Ṣâhib and other men of rank had yet to be replied to. I then asked whether Chinna Mudali had put in an appearance. He answered that from what he could see, it was not probable that he would, for he was much concerned at finding that the question of his appointment was not disposed of, and that it was not likely that the post would be conferred on him; that to all appearances, he would not return to work unless the matter was settled in his favour, and that even should the Governor send for him, there seemed to exist something furnishing him with a pretext for absenting himself for five or six days more. "Is that so?" exclaimed I. Madanânda Paṇḍit afterwards requested me to speak to the Governor regarding replying to the letters. I told him that it was none of my business, and repaired to my arecanut storehouse. Madanânda Paṇḍit's idea is that in the event of the appointment of Chinna Mudali as chief dubâsh, his own influence would be paramount. Any other person who obtained the post would bid him keep aloof, and would only require his services for the reading and writing of Persian letters. Chinna Mudali being a man too obtuse to grasp the views of the Governor,

Diarist told that certain official letters are unanswered.

Conversation regarding this with his informant.

Who requests him to speak to Governor on the subject, but he declines.

Reflections touching the news given by Madanânda Paṇḍit.

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Reasons for anxiety of Madananda Pandit that Chinna Mudali should be chief dubash.

and being destitute of address or judgment in inditing replies or expressing himself clearly, must be entirely dependent on Madanânda Paṇḍit, and therefore all his business would be conducted through the medium of the latter; hence Madanânda Paṇḍit could procure for himself as many presents as the circumstances of each case might warrant his demanding. For these reasons he is anxious that Chinna Mudali, and none other, should be appointed to the chief dubâshship.

The base character of the two.

Both of them are of exactly similar character, and would eat dirt for a cash: love of lucre is their predominant passion. Many instances can readily be cited in proof of this; they are well known; even young children are not unacquainted with their reputation. But this is a matter not to be dwelt upon. What I have stated is enough to convince the intelligent. The saying is, "A man chewing with nothing in his mouth would chew a handful of fried paddy, could he secure it, until daybreak."

An illustration of that of Madananda Pandit.

One may judge for oneself how Madanânda Paṇḍit, who when, in the time of Kanakarâya Mudali, confined to his own business, did not disdain to receive as a bribe a bundle of straw—nay even a few brinjals—would act if he were Chinna Mudali's counsellor in everything. What more is there for me to remark upon! The object of Chinna Mudali

The object of Chinna Mudali in absenting himself from duty.

is apparently to bring matters to a crisis by staying away, and bring about a decision one way or other. The will of Providence remains to be seen.

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Report that Me. Dupleix will entertain M. de la Bourdonnais.

It is reported that the wife of the Governor will invite M. de la Bourdonnais to a banquet and ball to be given to-night.

The *Marie Gertrude* ordered to lie at Âlambarai under false colours.

The Company's ship *Marie Gertrude*, of this port was, on the 25th Mârgazhi of Krôdhana [5th January] last, ordered to Âlambarai with instructions to lie at anchor in the roads there under a false name, to fly a Muhammadan flag, and to pass as being owned by Muhammad 'Alî Bêg of Porto Novo. She was to stay there ostensibly for the purpose of shipping salt, and some quantity of it was actually to be put on board her. She was directed to remain at anchor there until further orders. M. Gossard, who was until then the captain, was to be her pilot, and a Lubbay her master. Accordingly, one Kâsilevvai Marakkâyan from Porto Novo was taken before the Governor, who authorised his appointment as master, and permitted him to proceed with the ship, which departed under the assumed name of the *Khizr Mîr Ahmad*. After, in accordance with the orders given, having lain at anchor off Âlambarai, she returned to-day with a cargo of salt. Whilst there, she was joined by a one-masted sloop—the *Imâm Bakhsh*—the younger brother of M. Gossard being her captain. This craft arrived at Pondichery one day earlier. I reported the news to the Governor.

Her ostensible errand.

Sails under assumed name for Pondichery.

Joined before starting by sloop *Imam Bakhsh*.

Two native craft captured and brought into Pondichery.

Friday, 22nd July 1746, or 10th Âdi of Akshaya.—The news of to-day is this. Two native craft, which were passing this, on their way from Mylapore

Chap. XXI. 1746. The masters examined by the Governor.

to Muttupêṭṭai, Adirâmpaṭṭaṇam, and the neighbouring ports, were captured, and brought in by a boat. The native masters who commanded them were brought ashore, taken to the house of the Governor, and detained there until half-past 2 in the afternoon, when he summoned them, and instituted inquiries. From the statements made by them, and a perusal of the charter-parties and other documents in their possession, it appeared that the craft neither belonged to the English, nor hailed from Madras, and this was intimated to the Governor. Moreover, there was no commodity of much value in either of them; the goods in one amounting in value to less than 50 or 60 pagodas and those in the other 100 pagodas. Besides, there was a letter in French from Kâsilevvai Marakkâyan, the master of our ship at Âlambarai, advising that the cloths and other goods in one of them belonged to him, and this removed all doubts. The Governor then sent me to M. de la Bourdonnais to inform him as to the circumstances, and ask him to issue instructions for the release of the men. M. de la Bourdonnais, as soon as he had heard me, gave a written order to his officials directing that they should be set at liberty. This was delivered to the native masters, with permission to depart, which they accordingly did.

They prove not to belong to the English.

Diarist sent to M. de la Bourdonnais to request their release.

This ordered by him.

I communicated what had occurred to the Governor. I then intimated to him that I had received a reply to my letter to the dubâsh of the Governor of Fort St. David inquiring whether his master was in

need of red wine. I explained that this stated that the Governor of Fort St. David had desired him to convey his compliments to the Governor of Pondichery and his family, and to say that they had enough for the time being, and that when their supply ran short they would ask by letter for more. The Governor expressed himself satisfied.

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1746.

Diarist reports reply of chief dubash of Fort St. David.

He then told me that a sum of money was due to him by the Company, and that in discharge thereof he proposed to take thirty or forty bales of English broad-cloth belonging to it, and 100 bales of inferior broad-cloth known as second sort, fine, which had been received by the recently arrived French ships, and he requested me to effect a sale of these. In response I said that I would. He next asked me how both of these stuffs sold. I replied that the latter, when last sold, brought about the same price as Mocha broad-cloth. He inquired the profit on it. I stated that a bale brought a return of 15 or 20 pagodas, and that as prices fluctuated, the goods might yield a profit of 30 pagodas, if retailed. He, however, expressed his intention to dispose of them by wholesale and not retail sale, and questioned me regarding the price of the English article. I answered that the cost price at Madras of each bale—consisting of six rolls—was 91 pagodas; at the rate of $45\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas per three rolls, and that the selling price was either 108 or 112 pagodas. "Do not, because I take the articles, tell falsehoods," he exclaimed. "Give me the actual selling price in the

Governor informs diarist of intention to take goods in payment of a debt due by the Company.

And asks him to effect a sale of these.

Conversation as to prices.

CHAP. XXI.

1746.

Governor bids diarist to ascertain and let him know current rate.

market. Why should I not get the profit which you do?" My reply was: "Why do you say this?: there is no uniform price; it varies from time to time according to the demand." He then asked me to ascertain in writing, and let him know, the current market rate. I assented to this, and came away.

He presents Marakkayan to the Governor.

Kâsilevvai Marakkâyan then landed from his ship. I presented him to the Governor, who asked him whether he had put any of his goods on board a native craft. He answered in the affirmative. The Governor then desired me to give him a statement in French of the expenses of the ship and sloop after their departure for Âlambarai. I replied: "Very well," and came away.

Stratagem of Madananda Pandit to ascertain intention of Governor touching chief dubashship.

This afternoon, Madanânda Paṇḍit had recourse to a remarkable stratagem. This man, whose ambition is to be the prime minister of Chinna Mudali after he is installed, and was therefore desirous of sounding the mind of the Governor on the subject, detained his friend at home under the plea of illness, and approaching the Governor said as follows—Accountant Ranga Piḷḷai interpreting:—"Chinna Mudali is too unwell to-day to discharge the duties of dubâsh. He consequently bade me bring Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, and dispose of the letter from Arcot." The Governor replied: "Does that involve any great difficulty? Only a few words had to be sent in reply to it. I told you on the very day to do this."

Failure of this.

Abashed by this answer, Madanânda Paṇḍit retired. Not only was he foiled in his attempt to discover

the views of the Governor, but he brought upon himself a reprimand for delaying to despatch a simple letter to Mîr Asad stating that the payment of grass-tax had been ordered. Madanânda Pandit is said to have begged Accountant Ranga Pillai very earnestly not to make me acquainted with what he had said to the Governor. Although Ranga Pillai replied to him that there was no occasion to mention it, he communicated to me, through Arunâchala Chetti, what had occurred. This is an example of the way in which Madanânda Pandit exerts himself on behalf of Chinna Mudali, although it ought to be a matter of indifference to him who is appointed to the chief dubâshship. He does his best to secure the appointment for him. But though man proposes, God disposes. It does not look as though his hopes will be realized. But the Divine Will is great, and things must happen as ordained by it.

Accountant Ranga Pillai although requested not to do so, informs diarist.

Reflections of diarist on conduct of Madananda Pandit.

I went to the Governor, to communicate to him the contents of a letter from Rangappa Nâyakkan, in which he inquired how many of the ships recently arrived were from France, and how many were Indian. He instructed me to reply that all the nine were from France. At 10 at night, however, he sent for me, and asked whether I had replied to the dubâsh of the Governor of Fort St. David. I replied that I intended writing to him on the morrow. He then said: "Do not write to him as I bade you. Say that you do not exactly know whether the

Diarist communicates to Governor contents of a letter from Rangappa Nayakkan and receives instructions as to reply.

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1746.

Instructions subsequently odified.

ships are country craft, or from France, but that the crews of four of them consist of Muhammadans. From this it will appear as though these four are country ships, and that the rest are from France." I said: "Very well" and retired.

Diarist writes as finally instructed by the Governor.

Saturday, 23rd July 1746, or 11th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning, I addressed a letter to the dubâsh of the Governor of Fort St. David worded in accordance with the instructions given me by the Governor last night. There was nothing else noteworthy to-day. The nuptials of the son of Malaiyappa Cheṭṭi by his second wife, and the daughter of Chidambara Cheṭṭi, took place in Râmakrishṇa Cheṭṭi's house. I attended the ceremonies, and then went home.

Attends a marriage.

Letter from Husain Sahib to the Governor.

Sunday, 24th July 1746, or 12th Âḍi of Akshaya.—A messenger from Arcot brought a letter from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib to the Governor. In this it was stated that Mangâ Piḷḷai, one of the amaldârs in the employ of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, had betaken himself to Ozhukarai, a village within the jurisdiction of the French, and that when, under his orders, some men attempted to seize the man, they were driven away by the villagers. The extradition of the amaldâr was therefore requested. Madanânda Paṇḍit read and Accountant Ranga Piḷḷai interpreted it to the Governor, who then directed the former to tell Lazar to furnish him with a translation. Chinna Mudali continues to remain at home on the plea of illness.

Requests the extradition of a fugitive amaldar.

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At night, M. de la Bourdonnais entertained the Governor at a banquet. There was also a dance.

M. de la Bourdonnais entertains the Governor.

Monday, 25th July 1746, or 13th Âdi of Akshaya.— This day was uneventful. Malaiyappa Mudali and Madanânda Pandit repaired to the Governor, but finding him busy, remained seated outside for a time, and then returned home.

Malaiyappa Mudali and friend fail to see the Governor.

Tuesday, 26th July 1746, or 14th Âdi of Akshaya.— The Governor sent his accountant, Ranga Pillai, to Tânappa Mudali to tell him that having heard of the arrival of five or six sail in the roads at Cuddalore, he desired that he would ascertain what ships they were, and whence they came. When Accountant Ranga Pillai made Tânappa Mudali acquainted with the Governor's bidding, his reply was: "What friends have I there? Is this my business? I will, however, send a man to Cuddalore, to gather the information required by the Governor. Please inform him accordingly." Accountant Ranga Pillai told the Governor what Tânappa Mudali had said. He listened in silence, and then moved away.

Who directs Tânappa Mudali to inquire touching certain ships at Cuddalore.

He objects to do so but promises to send man.

I went to him later on, and after paying my respects, was seated in the verandah where the sentinel on guard was. Here Madanânda Pandit came to me, and said: "Chinna Mudali is a very stupid individual. I have repeatedly advised him, but he gives no heed to my words. I told him that as chief dubâsh his brother had made lakhs, had acquired very great repute, and had been in the enjoyment of every happiness within the reach of

Madanânda Pandit speaks to diarist of stupidity of Chinna Mudali.

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1746.

Gives account of arguments used by him to induce Chinna Mudali to take office.

man. I pointed out that nothing was more discreditable than to hear people say that owing to there being after the death of his brother no competent person in the family, the appointment would pass into the hands of others. I told him that all his influence would be irretrievably lost, and that nobody in the town would show any respect for him. I asked him why he was giving up what was more or less a hereditary possession; the appointment having been held in succession by his grandfather, father, and brother. I urged upon him that he was detracting from the importance of his family, and that none in this world could hope to gain wealth and power without pains. In spite of all my reasoning with him, and of all the counsels of his friends—whom I had persuaded to speak to him—he says that he is unfit for the office, that he is too sickly to discharge the duties of it efficiently, and that it is far better not to seek the post than to accept it, and then be turned out as inefficient. He is in a great fright just now. Twice or thrice he was unable to interpret to the Governor the contents of certain letters, and was obliged to send for you. The Governor being enraged, rated him soundly on these occasions. He is much afraid that as the Governor became so exasperated as regards such simple matters, he may deal with him with very great severity when really momentous subjects are in question." I replied: "Although he may decline the offer, how can he be excused from taking office." He continued: "He says that he is

And of Chinna Mudali's reply.

Mentions fear of Chinna Mudali of incurring anger of the Governor.

prepared to hold the appointment in conjunction with you. To-day, he intimated to Innâsi,* the head servant of Madame Dupleix, that he was unfit for the situation, and requested him to move her to tell her husband that he was incompetent. He promised to do so." This is the frame of mind in which Chinna Mudali is. But nobody knows what the Governor has in view. This has caused embarrassment to some. Chinna Mudali's intention is . . . †

Chap. XXI. — 1746. Adds that he is willing to take office jointly with diarist. And states that he sent word to Me. Dupleix as to his unfitness.

Wednesday, 27th July 1746, or 15th Âḍi of Akshaya.—The following, which is worthy of note, occurred to-day. There was here a man, originally in the service of the English at Fort St. David, who was brought into Pondichery by Madame Hollaque.‡ As she was on terms of intimacy with M. de la Bourdonnais, he obtained employment with the latter. When M. de la Bourdonnais departed for France, he left the man to the care of his brother, M. de la Villebague, who still retains him. This individual, whose name is Nainiyappa Mudali, has a comfortable living in his service. Now that M. de la Bourdonnais has arrived as the commanding officer of a squadron of nine ships, he is dancing attendance upon him, in the hope of acquiring some

Account of Nainiyappa Mudali, an ex-servant of M. de la Bourdonnais

* The Tamil rendering of "Ignatius."

† Blank in the original.

‡ Who this was has not been ascertained. Vinson (*Les Français dans l'Inde*) queries the name.

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1746.

His Telugu hanger-on.

money. This Nainiyappa Mudali has had, for a long time, a Telugu hanger-on who was once an inhabitant of Fort St. David. Malaikkozhunda Mudali, the son-in-law of Tambichâ Mudali, who for the last fifteen days has been engaged in furnishing secret intelligence to the Governor concerning the affairs of the English at Fort St. David, has reported to him that this Telugu dependant of Nainiyappa Mudali, being a supporter of the English, was communicating to the people of Fort St. David everything that occurred at Pondichery. This man, together with another, a Tamilian said to be of the Accountant caste, has been consigned to prison in the fort. Two other persons, who are also stated to belong to Fort St. David, have been confined in the court-house. Malaikkozhundan has since received a sum of 100 rupees from the Governor, and has been given an escort of two or three Company's peons. Why this money was given; whether for payment to any person, or as a reward for procuring news from Madras and Fort St. David, will be known in two or three days.

This man a spy of the English.

He and others on the information of one Malaikkozhundan placed in confinement.

Informant receives Rs. 100 from the Governor.

Thursday, 28th July 1746, or 16th Âḍi of Akshaya.—The Governor sent for me to-day, and handing me a cocoanut shell containing mercury, five or six rolls of palmyra leaf, and a little book of accounts made up of ten or twelve palmyra leaves, informed me that they were stated to have been brought casually by some seamen from a ship which they had met, and told me to despatch them to the parties

Governor hands to diarist certain articles.

Instructs him as to disposal of these.

or places concerned, if they could be found, and, if they could not, to dispose of them as I thought fit. An Indian hour afterwards, he gave me a palmyra-leaf letter written in the Telugu character to read. It purported to be written from Madras by the father of Pasumarti Singaṇṇa Cheṭṭi to his son, a servant of Ôrkaṇḍi Rangappa Nâyakkan, who is employed under Mr. Hinde, the Governor of Fort St. David. It stated that the Governor of Madras had sent for the son of the deceased Mullanki Krishṇama Cheṭṭi, and had given him some presents, that a ditch was being constructed around Fort St. George, that the trees and other obstructions to the north of the fort had all been cleared away, and that one of the relatives of the writer had died, leaving property estimated at 220 pagodas, of which, after deducting 150 for certain purposes, 70 remained. Mention was also made of other family matters. I interpreted the whole of the contents to the Governor, and he enjoined on me silence with regard to them. I assured him that I would keep matters secret. This confirmed what had already come to my knowledge, namely, that the post runner of Kûnimêḍu had been waylaid, beaten, and robbed of his mail bag.

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Subsequently hands him a letter.

Contents of this.

Governor enjoins secrecy as to these.

Friday, 29th July 1746, or 17th Âḍi of Akshaya.—On the night of this day, the Governor sent for me, and directed me to find a man who could pilot a ship to Jaffna and Trincomalee. I said that I would, and returned home.

Diarist directed by Governor to find a pilot for Jaffna, etc.

CHAP. XXI.

1746.

Return of Gopalakrishna Aiyan and brother. Diarist meets M. Lhostis.

This evening, Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan and his elder brother Sîtârâma Aiyan reappeared, they having absconded from this on 20th Kârttigai of the year Krôdhana [1st December 1745].

On my way from the house of the Governor, after having obtained permission for the return of the two persons mentioned above, M. Lhostis met me and asked for the return of his bond for 500 pagodas, and an acknowledgment of receipt of the premium, as well as the principal and interest owing by him. I pointed out that according to the sale accounts a further sum of 50 pagodas was due. He replied that he had paid this amount, also, with interest and premium, to the Governor, and told me to check it with his accounts.

Conversation with him touching a certain bond.

M. de la Villebague sends for diarist.

Saturday, 30th July 1746, or 18th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning, M. de la Villebague sent for me. On the 22nd October 1743, a ship commanded by M. du Bocage set sail for Mocha, with goods to the value of 800 pagodas on the account of M. de la Villebague; for which he received a bill-of-lading. Of the merchandise then shipped by him, one-half belonged to me. The whole cargo not having been disposed of there, M. de la Villebague subsequently proceeded to Manilla with what remained, appointing the Governor as his agent here. As regards the goods sold at Manilla, the Governor gave me, as my share of the sale-proceeds, Rs. 883–12–0. In connection with this transaction, M. de la Villebague said to me to-day : "The mer-

The trade venture which they had together.

chandise which we shipped between us in 1743 for Mocha, as far as sales were effected there, realized the sum of 1,304 rupees, 6 fanams and 12 cash. As half of this amount is your share, take these 652 rupees, 3 fanams and 6 cash." I then told Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan to receive and count the money. He did so, and handed it over to the custody of Âdi Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai, after making the necessary entries in the books. As M. de la Villebague and I were walking out of the room where we had been conversing, we met M. de la Gatinais, M. Dubois, the latter's brother M. Rousselière, and two ship-captains. M. Dubois looking towards me said: "Now that you have been appointed as courtier of the Company, we fully believe that all our concerns will be successfully managed by you." Congratulating me, he approached, according to the custom of his people, to embrace and kiss me. I thanked him, half accepting his congratulations; but eluded his salute, making as though I did not understand his purpose. I replied to him: "How will this appointment benefit me? Through the favour of the Governor, the honours of torches and a palanquin have been accorded to me, and I have even been vested with judicial powers. Owing to the liberal patronage bestowed by you all, I carry on business in all directions; the Governor has entrusted to me all his private affairs, and half of the Company's concerns pass through my hands. I am, as you see, ubiquitous, though strictly speaking I

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1746.

M. de la Villebague settles accounts.

They meet M. Dubois and others.

M. Dubois congratulates diarist on appointment as courtier.

He replies asking what benefit it will confer upon him.

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1746.

And stating the only advantages that it carries.

have no right to appear anywhere. The only advantages which the situation gives the holder of it are the oversight of the contract of the Company, and of the Company's merchants, and a knowledge of the communications to and from the Government. His annual profit on account of his concern in the contracts is 2,000 pagodas, and no sooner does he receive this amount than he has to pay it away in very many directions. On the other hand, if, as a private merchant, I take a little trouble, I may realize instead of this 2,000, 4,000 or even 6,000. If, by the favour of God, and your kindly attachment to me, I can make thus much, I shall be quite content. I am not altogether anxious for this office." He rejoined: "True. But, from Cape Comorin—in this part of the country—as well as in Bengal, in Golconda, and to the westward, in Mysore, there is not one who is not your friend, and there is none who will not honour your drafts and bonds. Nobody possesses so much credit here as you do, in the way of being able to procure at any time every kind of merchandise. The acquaintances and friends of other men are to be found only within the boundary hedge of Pondichery, and they have none in the interior. If therefore you agree to take up the appointment, the business of the Company will be carried on successfully, and it will, from the pecuniary point of view, be much benefited. There will hardly be any scheme initiated by it which under your management cannot be carried into full effect." The other Europeans who

Contrasts gains of the courtier with those of a private merchant.

Remarks of M. Dubois on diarist's reply.

Urges the desirability of his accepting the post.

were with him then asked why the appointment should not be offered to me, and why I should not be requested to take it up. He replied: "This is what is under consideration. It will be made known in due course. But those of the church of St. Paul will be much troubled." M. de la Villebague upon this observed: "The idea of the priests of the church of St. Paul is that if a Christian was appointed, they would be cognizant of every matter occurring in the town, and could bring under their influence any person that they wished. It was for this reason that they worked hard for the appointment of a Christian in the days of Louis XIV, and caused a letter on the subject to be addressed by the Company to the Council here. The result of this step was a mass of calumny against Nainiya Pillai. Upon this, the ministers of France left it to the discretion of the Council to do as they considered fit, observing that the authorities of the church of St. Paul were liars, and that it was owing to the mischief done by them that Pondichery had not attained any name, and was in a moribund condition. In consequence of this, the words of the priests of the church of St. Paul will carry no weight; and promotion of the Company's trade will be the main consideration in the selection from the candidates for office. Nevertheless, the priests will not remain aloof; they will strive to their utmost to obtain the appointment of a Christian, and will even move the authorities at home to

Conversation between Europeans on this point.

Reply of M. Dubois.

M. de la Villebague makes some observations.

Alludes to the interference on the part of the priests.

And the result.

Points out that they will not abate their exertions.

CHAP. XXI.

1746.

Refers to unfitness of Chinna Mudali.

support them. Their character is too well known. Where, however, is the man in that community competent for the situation? The only one to be thought of is Chinna Mudali. But he is a boor, and an ignoramus. It was said, even in the days of M. Dumas, that he was lacking in integrity, and would not hesitate to accept a fowl's head as a bribe, and that Rangappan was the fittest man to succeed Kanakarâya Mudali." We then chatted on topics of general interest, such as the friendly relation subsisting between the authorities at Negapatam and the English, the construction of ships by the latter at Trincomalee, a cruise of the squadron commanded by M. de la Bourdonnais to seek the English; the prospect of the destruction of all the English ships of war, the desirability of capturing Madras, and of hoisting the French flag there—were it only for four days—in order to retrieve the name of the French, the glory acquired by that nation through setting up a new king on the throne of England, and the probability of this event taking place in a month, if it had not already occurred. After a long conversation, I took my departure.

Suggests that diarist is the fittest person.

Subsequent conversation on various topics.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM JULY 31ST, 1746, TO AUGUST 10TH, 1746.

M. Paradis and another give banquet to Governor, and M. de la Bourdonnais.—M. d'Espréménil entertains them at night—Governor informs diarist that he holds certain sums belonging to him—And will see to settlement of further accounts—Asks if he has other debtors—M. Lhostis sent for to pay debt due by him—Diarist forgoes interest on this—Conversation with Governor regarding Chinna Mudali—And certain money to be paid to him—Diarist offers to hand this over in person—Arrangement made to pay to Chinna Mudali amount due to Kanakarâya Mudali—Difficulties of various kinds made by him when this tendered—He finally receives it—Governor instructs diarist to arrange for payment of a certain sum to Mîr Ghulâm Husain—This done—Closing of accounts of trade venture to Mocha—News contained in letter brought from Mahé—M. de la Villebague entertains MM. de la Bourdonnais, and Dupleix—M. de la Bourdonnais embarks—Honours paid to M. Dumas, and M. Dupleix when they landed—Why M. Dupleix caused a particular salute on the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais—Opinions as to absence of salute of guns when that officer started to embark—Intentions of M. de la Bourdonnais touching English squadron—French fleet ships supplies—Estimated cost of these—Specie embarked—Arrangements as to native pilots—Further special staff—What M. de la Bourdonnais, when departing, said to Governor—Son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, etc., visit admiral's ship—Their reception, and treatment on board—Presents made by them to M. de la Bourdonnais—Those given in return—Honours paid to them on departure—French fleet sails in search of English—Governor grants diarist permission to supply provisions to Asad Ṣâḥib—Gives him orders for certain goods—Makes a payment to agent of Bâlu Chetti—Desires diarist to ascertain how this disposed of—Directs him to dye certain piece-goods—Asks for account of piece-goods sent to Mascareigne—Madame Dupleix gives diarist orders for certain goods—He agrees to a venture in shirts with M. Duplan—Council meets—Diarist presents certain accounts to Governor—Who asks what Sambu Dâs wrote to him—Conversation on this subject—Diarist states that Sambu Dâs has asked for certain passes—Conversation regarding this request—Governor inquires who Venkaṭa Narasinga Râjâ is—Diarist gives particulars—And speaks in the highest terms of him—Governor suggests that diarist should procure for him an alliance with this man, and presents from him—What is said to have occurred when Venkaṭa Narasinga Râjâ visited Madras—What Sambu Dâs wished Mr Morse to do—Diarist causes payment of a certain draft—Governor directs him to procure

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1746.

certain horses—Supposed reason for this order—Letters to Governor and Sampâti Rao from agent for French at Arcot—These state that Mr. Morse had requested the Nawâb to forbid French to attack Madras—Nawâb said to have sent men to Madras and Pondichery, to keep him informed of events—Letter to Governor also states that Nawâb requests passes for certain ships—Governor's reply to this—Death and interment of priest of Vikrapâṇḍi Chettis—How, prior to his death, he appointed his successor—Dubâsh of late Governor of Fort St. David comes to Vazhudâvûr—Departs for Fort St. David—Alleged object of his errand. Governor indisposed—Complaint from Imâm Ṣâhib to Governor of murder of follower—Governor directs diarist to make inquiry—Nawâb writes to Governor for safe conduct for a ship—Penalty agreed to if she carries goods for English—Instructions given thereon—M. Legou sends order for cloths to Chinna Mudali—Subsequently gives it to diarist.

M. Paradis and another give banquet to Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais.

Sunday, 31st July 1746, or 19th Âḍi of Akshaya.—M. Paradis and M. Desfresnes entertained the Governor, M. de la Bourdonnais, and others, at a banquet at the garden-house of M. Paradis, at Ozhukarai whither they all repaired. There is therefore nothing worthy of record to-day. They all returned this evening, at 6. At night, the party was fêted at the house of M. d'Espréménil.

M. d'Espréménil entertains them at night.

Governor sends for diarist.

Monday, 1st August 1746, or 20th Âḍi of Akshaya.—The Governor sent for me this morning, and said: "I have now in my possession a sum of Rs. 10,892, which belongs to you. This amount was realized by the sale at Mocha of the merchandise shipped on two occasions in the *Neptune;* the second being in the month of Mâsi (February) of the year Raktâkshi (1745), when she sailed, bound ostensibly for Banca, under the assumed name of the *Salâmat*—her alleged owner being Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain. I have also received from M. Lhostis, to whom you lent them on a premium contract, 500 pagodas, exclusive of

Informs him that he holds certain sums belonging to him.

the premium of 18, and another sum of 10 pagodas, being interest and special charge for monsoon risks. The total of all these items is Rs. 2,139. You have thus to your credit an aggregate sum of Rs. 13,031, which please note in your account as having been received, and then debit against me. The consignment which you sent to Mascareigne has also been disposed of. I will look into the accounts, and have a statement prepared showing what falls to your share in that transaction." He then inquired whether any other person was indebted to me. I replied that M. Lhostis had yet to pay me 50 pagodas in connection with piece-goods, and asked him whether this amount had been included. Answering in the negative, he sent for M. Lhostis. As soon as he came, the Governor said to him: "A sum of 50 pagodas is outstanding against you. You had better pay it to Rangappan." This he promised the Governor that he would do, but when we left the room, he said to me: "I have lost by the consignments which I sent on that occasion. These 50 pagodas include the premium and the special charge for monsoon risks amounting to 14 pagodas, which I am unable to pay. You must therefore favour me by waiving your claim to this amount." When preferring this request he extended his hand towards my chin,*

And that he will see to the settlement of a further account.

Asks if he has further debtors.

M. Lhostis sent for to pay his debt to diarist.

Asks that claim to interest on this waived.

* This is a common term—amongst the lower classes of natives in particular—of emphasizing a request for a favour. The expression used when referring to cases where a man has pressed another to comply with a request is literally "Having caught hold of his chin he begged of him."

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And hands him the amount of his debt.

Including 24 pagodas which were due by him on an account of the year before last, he owed me in all 74 pagodas, in discharge of which he handed to me Rs. 237, and begged that I would excuse him the payment of the balance. I told him that I willingly gave up the 14 pagodas for his sake, observing that I could make up the amount if I continued to stand well in his eyes.

Diarist foregoes interest.

Having despatched the money to Âdi Nârâyana Pillai, I returned to the Governor, who desired me to sign the share account. After I had done this, he said to me: "What is the illness from which Chinna Mudali is suffering?" I answered that I did not know. He then asked: "Is it the same as he had before?" I answered: "So they say." He then remarked: "He gets a share amounting to as much money as you have had. Whom shall we send to him with it?" I suggested the name of his accountant. He replied: "Why may we not forward it by a peon? We have to deduct from it the sum of 1,000 pagodas due from him, and deliver the balance. We must obtain his signature in the remittance list accompanying it, in token of his having received the full amount." I submitted: "If you tell me what you desire to be done, I myself will go." His reply was: "It is not a matter of such consequence that you should. Nevertheless, on my account, you had better do so. You must pay him the amount I have in trust for him, less Rs. 3,200, the equivalent of 1,000 pagodas which he still owes me, and get his signature." I

Conversation with Governor regarding Chinna Mudali.

And certain money to be paid to him.

Diarist offers to make the payment in person.

responded: "Very well." He then said: "What is Pedro's share in the profits?" I answered: "Rs. 10,892; the same as has come to me. If Rs. 3,200 be deducted therefrom, the net amount to be made over to Chinna Mudali will be Rs. 7,692. If you will kindly give me a note addressed to your accountant Ranga Pillai, instructing him to deliver this to Chinna Mudali, I will go in person to the latter, obtain his signature, explain to him the items making up the sum, and deliver the money to him." He accordingly handed me a note addressed to his accountant, directing him to pay Rs. 7,692 to Tânappa Mudali, and also gave me the share account which the latter had to sign. I then placed the amount mentioned above in charge of Arunâchala Chetti, and bade him proceed in advance, deliver it to Tânappa Mudali, and tell him that I would see him immediately. When I arrived, I found that Arunâchala Chetti had handed over the money, and was conversing with him. I then instructed him to withdraw, and informed Chinna Mudali, in the presence of Pâramunâda Pillai and Azhagappan—who were at the time with him—that the Governor had bidden me make over to him the amount realized by two voyages to Mocha, and obtain his signature in the share account in token of receipt by him. He upon this said: "I am in the dark as to the nature of the transaction. Please have a memorandum of the particulars made out in the hand-writing of Pâramunâda Pillai." I accordingly caused the latter to make out a note that

Governor asks the amount due to Kanakaraya Mudali.

Arranged that diarist pays this to Chinna Mudali.

He sends the money in advance.

And follows.

Conversation with Chinna Mudali.

Who asks for particulars in writing.

These given.

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Tanappa Mudali takes exception to amount tendered.

the earnings of the two voyages were Rs. 10,892. Tânappa Mudali then inquired why there were only four bags. I informed him that it was less Rs. 3,200, the equivalent of 1,000 pagodas which he owed to the Governor, who had deducted this amount, and bidden me pay the balance of Rs. 7,692, and obtain his signature. The grumbling which this information evoked from him was unbounded, and he observed : "Cannot the Governor recover the amount from what is outstanding to my credit against Europeans ?" When I indicated the four places in the document at which he had to sign, he, being unacquainted with the form, put to me several questions as to the profits on the original investment. I informed him that this could not be made out now, and that the amounts distributed were the sale-proceeds apportioned according to the capital invested by the different parties. Not satisfied with this, he asked numerous questions and eventually, with much reluctance, affixed his signature at the places pointed out. He then observed : "Three of the bags bear a seal, and the fourth is open. The contents of the open bag should be examined and checked in your presence, or you must depute some one as your agent to do this, and to deliver them formally to me." I remarked : "That is not my business. I have handed to you what the Governor has sent. The paper which you have signed will be returned to him. I shall then go home. No more responsibility attaches to me." He exclaimed : "As

When explanation given, is very discontented.

Asks many questions.

Objects to receive an unsealed bag without check.

Which diarist refuses.

Chinna Mudali still objecting, his request complied with.

you brought the bag, you must deliver its contents correctly. Otherwise I will not receive it." Thereupon I instructed Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi to count out and hand over the rupees to him. This was done, and I made a report to the Governor, who then said to me: "I have Rs. 5,221, the share of Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain, which are the proceeds of the sale of his merchandise at Mocha. Please arrange for the delivery of this sum to him, and for obtaining his signature in the share account." Entrusting the money to Sadâsiva Aiyan, I charged him to pay it to Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain's father, and take his signature. He accordingly delivered the amount, and brought back the share account duly signed.

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This done.

Thus, within a period of six months and twenty days, the merchandise shipped to Mocha was disposed of, and the amounts invested in the Mocha counting-house, for the purchase of coffee, were duly returned to the different shareholders, with interest.

Closing of accounts of trade venture to Mocha.

Tuesday, 2nd August 1746, or 21st Âḍi of Akshaya.—Four Brâhmans brought a letter from Mahé, and said that they had, by rapid travelling, made the journey in twelve days. Their report was as follows: "A ship arrived at Mahé and was supplied with some sheep, swine, fowls, and water. As the sea was stormy, and the waves were high—this being the rainy season there—only a portion of the provisions collected could be placed on board. Owing to the state of the weather, a European passenger who had

Letter brought from Mahé by Brahmans.

News brought by them.

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landed was unable to return to the ship. He intended to go on to Pondichery, and with that view walked for some distance. but was obliged to turn back owing to his feet having swollen. We have also brought letters from the officers of the ship."

M. de la Villebague entertains MM. de la Bourdonnais and Dupleix.

Wednesday, 3rd August 1746, or 22nd Ádi of Akshaya.—At noon to-day, M. de la Bourdonnais and the Governor M. Dupleix, were entertained by M. de la Villebague, at his house. At about 3, they left in palanquins; that of M. de la Bourdonnais preceding that of M. Dupleix. As they passed out together through the sea-gate, the "Tambour-aux-champs" was beaten. They alighted at the custom-house, and there, as he was starting on an expedition against Commodore Peyton who commands the English fleet, M. de la Bourdonnais bade M. Dupleix farewell. A salute of twenty-one guns was then fired. The Governor accompanied M. de la Bourdonnais to the boat, embracing and kissing him before he embarked. When the boat with M. de la Bourdonnais on board pushed off from the shore, there was another salute of twenty-one guns. The Governor watched it until it had passed the outer surf, then returned to his house, and afterwards went out for a drive.

M. de la Bourdonnais bids Governor farewell, and embarks.

What took place on the occasion.

Honours paid to M.M. Dupleix and Dumas on first landing.

When M. Dupleix first disembarked, the "Tambour-aux-champs" was not beaten, and fifteen guns only were fired; but on the occasion of the landing of M. Dumas, he was honoured with a salute of twenty-one guns, and with the beating of the "Tambour-aux-

champs." That a similar honour was not accorded to M. Dupleix, was made the ground of a complaint, which has a long history. Some said that to make up for the previous shortcoming, the Governor had on this occasion caused a salute of twenty-one guns to be fired twice, and the "Tambour-aux-champs" to be beaten, and that with this motive he accompanied M. de la Bourdonnais to the boat, and remained on the beach until it had passed the outer surf. A few observed that his intention in acting as he did was to indicate that the beating of the "Tambour-aux-champs" was due only to his own presence on the occasion. When M. de la Bourdonnais actually started to embark on board his ship, no guns were fired. Some surmised that this must have been at his own desire, as he was proceeding, as it were, to his own residence. Others, again, thought that M. de la Bourdonnais must have declined the honour, as one more befitting the occasion of his victorious return. Each expressed the opinion which occurred to him.

Why M. Dupleix caused a particular salute to be given on the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Opinions as to the absence of a salute when the latter started to embark.

M. de la Bourdonnais stated in the presence of all his officers that he was resolved to lead the fleet against Commodore Peyton, who is cruising off Trincomalee, where the English are building ships; and either capture his squadron, making him and his officers prisoners, or sink and destroy his opponents, or with his officers, meet a like fate at the hands of the English. The views of the Governor and those present were in accord with those

Statement of M. de la Bourdonnais touching intentions as to English squadron.

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expressed by M. de la Bourdonnais. Every one is assured that either one or the other of these two things will happen: there is no other alternative.

French fleet ships warlike stores and provisions.

Munitions of war, pickaxes, spears, ladders, spades, baskets, etc., etc. were shipped on board the eight sail comprising the fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais. Having enumerated these, there is no need that I should say more. A word to the wise is sufficient. Sheep, bullocks, pigs, fowls, dried fish, bread, Colombo arrack, rice, dholl, ghee, oil, firewood, and other provisions, were all embarked in the ships, in quantities so enormous as to appear almost fabulous. There is possibly a risk that the terms "ocean of lies," and "mountain of lies" might be applied to my description. It was estimated that the fitting out of the nine vessels which came out for the war would cost a lakh of rupees, less 4,000 or 5,000. The lowest estimate was not, it would appear, below 80,000 or 85,000 rupees. The cost of the expedition may amount to more, but it cannot be less. In addition to provisions, money was shipped in boxes. The Admiral's vessel, the *Achille*, had on board Rs. 4,000 in specie, and each of the other seven ships Rs. 3,000. The men carried by the fleet numbered 3,300. Two hundred and forty soldiers, fifty East Indians, and a few officers were embarked at Pondichery to replace those falling sick and dying. Two native masters were engaged to pilot the fleet to Trincomalee, on a salary of Rs. 23 per mensem each. They were taken before

Estimated cost of fitting, etc., the ships.

Amounts in specie carried by them.

Number of men on board.

Arrangements as to native pilots.

the Governor, who sent them on to M. de la Bourdonnais, by whom they were put on board his own ship. They expressed fears for their safety on the ground that they were to be employed on a man-of-war, but the Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais reassured them by saying that in the event of an action, they would be ordered into the hold along with the priests and the ship's doctor, and they moreover promised to give them a liberal reward in addition to their pay. Each ship was provided with two divers, four boatmen, and a catamaran. The duty of these men was to make soundings whilst the fleet was doubling the promontory of Ceylon, explore the estuaries of rivers, and report to the ships shoals and other dangers. The services of experienced hands were obtained because they were intimately acquainted with these seas, of which the French sailors have but little knowledge. The French say that when M. de la Bourdonnais bade the Governor farewell, he told him that they would rejoice after the fifteenth day from this, when he would bring Commodore Peyton as his prisoner, and that he would not now stand on much ceremony, but would take his departure at once. As the tide of fortune has turned in favour of the French, they will, without doubt, vanquish the English. Providence surely has willed it so ; and it will certainly come to pass. When the vessels return, all will be delighted.

These apprehensive of serving on a ship of war.

Further special native staff.

What M. de la Bourdonnais, when departing, said to the Governor.

Thursday, 4th August 1746, or 23rd Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning at 6, the son of Chandâ Ṣâhib,

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The son of Chanda Sahib and others visit the admiral's ship.

the son of Badê Ṣâḥib, and Asad Ṣâḥib, the son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, with many of attendants, went off in five boats--the first three in one furnished with seats, and the others in ordinary craft —to the ship *Achille*, which is that of the Admiral. As they stepped on board, the second captain came to meet and escort them. The deck was lined on either side by 250 soldiers, drums were beaten, pipes and trumpets were played, and the visitors were received with very great honours. M. de la Bourdonnais then advanced, embraced them, and conducted them to his quarters, where he led them into a cabin freshly decorated with gilt leaves and silk hangings, and seated them on chairs and sofas placed there. After they had exchanged some polite phrases, they talked for a while on general topics. They then witnessed some of the manœuvres of the seamen, such as the fastening and unfastening of ropes, and the unfurling of sails, which the men were directed to perform quickly. They were next shown round the deck, fore and aft, and afterwards inspected the cannon which were mounted there. They then once more entered the Admiral's cabin, and resumed their seats. The son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib presented M. de la Bourdonnais with a dress of honour worth Rs. 110 or 120, and the son of Badê Ṣâḥib gave him another. M. de la Bourdonnais in return made a present of a musket fitted with a bayonet, to the former, and of another musket to the latter

Arrangements for their reception.

Attentions paid to them by M. de la Bourdonnais.

They are shown round the ship, etc.

Presents made to M. de la Bourdonnais.

Those given by him in return.

both these weapons being of a costly description. On their way back he escorted them as far as the gangway, and there bade them farewell. As they descended the ship's ladder, and entered the boat, a salvo of twenty-one guns was fired by each of the four ships in the roads. Then those on board taking off their hats, shouted thrice : "Long live the king." Thus were the visitors highly honoured : they were deserving of the treatment which they received. The beating of drums continued, and the guard of honour remained drawn up, as long as they were on board; the latter was dismissed only after they had quitted the ship. The visitors then came ashore, and repaired to their respective abodes.

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The fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais, consisting of eight ships, set sail at 11 this forenoon to seek the English at Galle, Colombo, Jaffna, and Trincomalee. When it stood out to sea, fifteen guns were fired by the Admiral only. The fort returned the salute.

The French fleet sails in search of the English.

Friday, 5th August 1746, or 24th Âḍi of Akshaya.—I suggested to the Governor that Asad Ṣâḥib should be supplied with provisions. He desired me to tell Arumpâtai to send them, which I did.

Governor grants diarist permission to supply provisions to Asad Sahib.

Saturday, 6th August 1746, or 25th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This forenoon, about half-past 11, M. Dupleix, sent for me, furnished me with a list of goods to be manufactured for him, and desired that they should be supplied by the end of October next. I said : "Very good." He again summoned me, and

Governor sends for diarist. And gives him order for certain goods.

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Gives further orders.

said: "I want a score of pieces of muslin as good and fine as you can get, and another of dimity, no matter what the cost and fineness. You must procure these two kinds of goods, of very superior quality, within a period of two months. They are entered in the register of orders for cloths, in which a description of them is given."

Governor makes a payment to the agent of T. Bâlu Chetti.

Sending for me once more, the Governor said: "I will now pay Rs. 20,000 to Tiruviti Bâlu Chetti's agent. The balance will be met later on. Inform Venkaṭâchala Chetti accordingly." I did as he bade me. The Governor paid the amount to the agent, who received the same. He then said to me: "Ascertain, and let me know, what Salatu Venkaṭâchala Chetti does with the money, to whom he gives it, and whether he sends it to Madras or pays it to Chinna Mudali in liquidation of the debt due to Kanakarâya Mudali."

Desires diarist to ascertain how this is disposed of.

Direct him to dye certain piece-goods.

The Governor desired me to-day to dye with blue eighty scores of piece-goods, and I promised to do so. He then ordered his accountant, Ranga Piḷḷai, to make over the necessary number of pieces to me. He accordingly came to me, and said that he would deliver these on the morrow, and I instructed him to send them to my warehouse. He undertook to do this, and departed.

These in part made over to diarist.

To-day the Governor's accountant, Ranga Piḷḷai, made over to the custody of the men at my warehouse a portion of the piece-goods, which were duly sealed, and he promised to forward the remainder to-morrow.

Sunday, 7th August 1746, or 26th Âḍi of Akshaya.—The Governor summoned me to-day, and said: "What quantity of piece-goods did you send, in October 1744, through M. de Bury, for sale at Mascareigne?" I replied: "Two bales, which cost 900 and odd pagodas." He then said: "Give me an account of this." After consulting the entry made at the time, I have noted down the figures—pag: 963, fan: 21, ca: 38—in French. I purpose furnishing this note to the Governor to-morrow.

Governor asks him for an account of piece-goods sent to Mascareigne.

Madame Dupleix sent for me and said: "I want 1,000 shirts made of bleached long-cloth. You may add another 500. As for the cloth, the Governor told me to procure it from you." I answered: "I will see to it." She continued: "He also bade me obtain from you two scores of sheeting printed with flowers, which I require." I replied: "Very well; I will send them. The Governor has already given me a list of these piece-goods, and ordered the supply of them."

Me. Dupleix gives diarist orders for certain goods.

M. Duplan said to me: "I require blue cloth, to the value of 1,000 pagodas. I will have it made into shirts. You can take half a share in this. They are in great demand at Mascareigne." I replied: "I agree." He added: "It should be ready by the month of October next." I answered: "I will think over it and let you know." He then said: "As my health here is not good, I intend going to Mascareigne for a change. I will take the goods with me then." M. de Bausset also took

He agrees to a venture in shirts with M. Duplan.

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part in this conversation. M. Duplan promised to send me 300 pagodas on Wednesday next.

Council meets.

This morning, a Council, from which the Governor was absent, was held at the Council chamber. The members separated at 11.

Diarist presents to Governor the account called for.

Monday, 8th August 1746, or 27th Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning, I presented to the Governor the account connected with the two bales of piece-goods sent to Mascareigne through the agency of M. de Bury, on the 18th October 1744, corresponding to 6th Arppisi of Raktâkshi. He took it, and then said: "What did Sambu Dâs write to you after the arrival of our ships." I replied: "He has sent a letter begging pardon for all the irregularities which he recently committed, and requesting me to act as mediator, and effect a reconciliation so full that your friendship towards him might hereafter be ever warm and enduring." On this the Governor inquired what reply I had given. My answer was: "I wrote to him to the following effect: 'When you were here, you promised, in connection with Chandâ Ṣâḥib's affair, to give the Governor a draft for a lakh of rupees. But after you left Pondichery, you wrote to him saying that in view of the non-arrival of the ships, and for this and that reason, you could not fulfil your promise. Subsequently, although I addressed several letters to you, you never paid heed to any of them. Under these circumstances, if you desire that the friendship of the Governor should be revived, you should adopt such

He asks diarist what Sambu Das wrote to him.

Conversation on this subject.

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a course as will induce him to forget all your past misdemeanours.' I addressed him in terms suited to the circumstances of the case." I then added: "He has written to me to procure a permit for three of his boats laden with redwood which has to be landed at Negapatam." He replied: "We cannot give passes to those residing at places under the English flag." Upon this I exclaimed: "You said, in the case of ships in the roads at Cuddalore, bound for Queda, that you had no objection to furnish passes, provided that they executed an agreement or offered security that they would not carry any goods belonging to the English. I accordingly replied to him to that effect." The Governor then proceeded to urge that this was rescinded by a subsequent order of Council. I thereupon remonstrated with him saying that a refusal on his part would not be equitable, and that it would add to his reputation to show favour in this case. To this he did not reply.

Diarist states that Sambu Das has requested him to obtain certain passes.

Conversation regarding this request

He then said: "Who is Venkaṭa Narasinga Râjâ? Why did he send you a horse, a dress of honour, and a dagger? What is he?" I replied: "His territory is estimated to yield a revenue of two lakhs of pagodas. He pays a tribute to the Nawâb of a lakh of rupees every year. He is a feudal chieftain. His possessions contain many well-known hills and forests. It is on his land that Father Thomas of Madras has built a church. He and I have been on friendly terms for the last three or four years. This person, however, is a regent,

Governor asks who Venkata Narasinga Raja is.

Diarist gives particulars.

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the real owner being his brother-in-law, Kârvêti Râjâ, who has become imbecile. Venkata Narasinga Râjâ is at present suffering from diabetes. He is said to have recently been to Madras for medical treatment, and to have started for Bommarâja pâlaiyam only five days ago, as his health has now somewhat improved. I have received a letter conveying news to this effect. A month ago I sent to him return presents of a horse and a dress of honour. But before these could reach his country, he had left for Madras. My messengers consequently are now at Tirutani, a town which belongs to him, and is at a distance of about ten leagues from Pondichery. This is what my servants have written to me. After he has returned to his pâlaiyam, they will proceed thither. Venkata Narasinga Râjâ is a man of great integrity and virtue, and an able administrator. Since he commenced to manage affairs, he has very much extended his territory." After I had expatiated in these terms on his merits, the Governor remarked: "You alone have secured presents from him. But you have made no attempt to effect an alliance between him and me, and to procure presents for me also." I said: "I will; but we should exhibit no undue haste in doing this." He replied: "You must contrive this."

Mentions presents which he sent to this man.

On whose integrity and ability he dwells.

Governor suggests that diarist should procure for him alliance with this man and presents from him.

It is said that when Venkata Narasinga Râjâ went to Madras, he visited the Governor, Mr. Morse who, it is alleged, honoured him with a salute, and gave him a present. It is likewise reported that on the eve

What is said to have occurred when he visited Madras.

of his return he made Mr. Morse sundry gifts more valuable than those which he had received. It would appear that Sambu Dâs pleaded hard with the Governor that an elephant should be presented to the Râjâ, that the Governor refused to comply with this request; that thereupon Sambu Dâs offered to give one, and requested that the Governor would present it, that the Governor then observed that his refusal was not based on the score of expense, but on the ground that an unusual precedent would thereby be created, and that even as regards a salute, it was not without considerable pressing that it was granted. I have received from reliable sources positive information to this effect. It now remains to be seen what will take place when my messenger, Râmakrishṇa Sâstri, delivers, after the Râjâ has returned to his pâḷaiyam, what I have sent to him.

CHAP. XXII. — 1746. What Sambu Das then wished Mr. Morse to do regarding the Raja.

To-day, Tarwâḍi presented to me a draft for Rs. 9,600, from his master's agent Harirâm Tâkar at Negapatam, payable eight days after sight to M. Riche, the commandant at Kârikâl. Increasing this amount to Rs. 9,672, by the addition of a premium of 72—at the rate of three-fourths of a rupee for every 100 of the draft—I transferred it to M. Dulaurens, and caused payment to be made to Tarwâḍi. When I went to communicate the news to the Governor, I found him engaged in a conversation with M. d'Auteuil. After he had listened to me, he said: "I wish you to have in readiness fourteen or fifteen

Diarist causes payment o a draft for Rs. 9,600.

Governor directs him to procure sundry horses.

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horses of the Manilla, Pegu, Asiatic Turkey, and Arabian breeds." I replied: "Very good." I accordingly instructed Krimâsi Paṇḍit, the subordinate chief of the peons, not to permit any horses, the property of Hindus or Muhammadans, to pass beyond the bounds of Pondichery. The Governor made an exception as regards those from Acheen. The circumstance which has led to the issue of the order recorded above seems to be this: M. de la Bourdonnais has entertained a body-guard of twenty-four troopers; and drives out attended by some of these. He is said to have given instructions to procure horses for his men, and make up uniforms for them. This information was given to me by M. Mathieu, who remarked: "M. de la Bourdonnais has engaged four Coffres,* to blow trumpets. We shall see in four or five days in what light the Governor will regard this."

Supposed reason for this order.

Subbaiyan, the agent of the French at Arcot, sent a letter which was interpreted by Madanânda Paṇḍit and Malaiyappa Mudali to the Governor. It ran as follows: "Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, wrote to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân stating that intelligence had been received there that the French were meditating an attack on the town, and had put on board their ships of war, scaling ladders,

Letter to Governor from agent for the French at Arcot.

States that Mr. Morse addressed the Nawab requesting him to forbid French to attack Madras.

* Called also Caffres. Negroes of South-East Africa who were imported by the Portuguese, English, and French, and used as troops. From quotations occurring in "Hobson Jobson" it would appear that some of this class were accomplished performers on the French horn.

bundles of straw, spades, pickaxes, axes, tents, and other material of war for attacking a fort, that this news had disquieted the traders, officers, and other inhabitants of Madras, that he also suspected this, that as war at sea alone had been proclaimed between the English and the French, the latter should not attack the former on land, and that as towns possessed by either party lay in the territories of the Nawâb, neither the English, nor the French, could attack these without his permission. Mr. Morse therefore asked the Nawâb to insist upon the French not attacking Madras. He also wrote to the same effect to Sampâti Rao. Both the letters were delivered in the first instance to Sampâti Rao by the Madras agent, who told him in complimentary terms what he had been instructed to say. Sampâti Rao perused the letter addressed to him, told the agent to deliver to the Nawâb the despatch intended for him, and promised at the same time to send a reply after consultation with him at the darbar. The Madras agent thereupon presented the letter to the Nawâb, who having read it, despatched two messengers to Madras, and two others to Pondichery, with instructions to send him intelligence, from time to time, of whatever took place in those two towns." In addition to these particulars, the letter of Subbaiyan, communicated the fact that the Nawâb had written to the Governor of Pondichery asking for passes for three vessels bound from

Letter to the same effect to Sampati Rao.

Nawab said to have sent men to Madras and Pondichery to keep him informed of occurrences there.

Nawab further stated to have requested passes for certain ships.

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Reply of the Governor on this point.

Sa'âdat Bandar * to Chittagong. When the Governor heard the letter he, it is reported, smiled, and stepped back a pace or two. The letter of the Nawâb asking for passes for the three ships was afterwards read and interpreted to the Governor, who directed that a reply should be sent to the effect that there was no objection to granting these documents, provided that the owners of the ships bound themselves, by a written agreement, not to carry in them goods or other things belonging to the English. This is what Madanânda Paṇḍit told me.

Death, and interment of the priest of the Vikrapandi Chettis.

This night, two Indian hours after sunset, Ambalattâḍum Aiyar, the priest of the Vikrapâṇḍi Cheṭṭis who reside here, expired. His corpse was interred in a sitting posture, in the premises of the very maṭṭ over which he presided. Having had a presentiment of his approaching end, he, on Sunday the 26th Âḍi [7th August 1746], nominated Kanakasabhai Tambirân as his successor. The latter, who had a tangled head of hair, was, up to the time of his appointment, his personal attendant, escorted him to men of consequence, and helped in superintending the affairs of the institution. Nominating him as his successor, the retiring priest placed on his neck the sacred rosary, composed of clusters of

How prior to his death, he appointed his successor.

* This is what is now known as Covelong, a village and salt factory on the coast, 22 miles from Madras. From an old route book, it appears that there was there a fort constructed by Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn, close to the sea and near the ruins of one which had been built by the Imperial East India Company of Ostend. The name given by the Natives to this fort was Sa'âdat Bandar. It has long ceased to exist.

beads—five in each—which he had hitherto worn, and prostrated himself in homage at his feet. The ascetics present, and all his disciples, followed his example. Then, addressing the assembly, he said: "I have installed this man as your head. I shall betake myself to-morrow evening to Kailâsa. You must take care of the matt, and manage its affairs efficiently". His death took place as he had predicted. His successor, a handsome person with a bright face, is about forty-five years old, and seems to be fitted for the office.

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And intimated this to his followers.

On the night of Monday, this day last week, Pandil Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan, formerly the dubâsh of Mr. Hubbard, the late Governor of Fort St. David, arrived at Vazhudâvûr, paid a visit to Mîr Husain Khân, the commandant of the fort, and received from him, as gifts, a horse and a dress of honour. Having forwarded to me, through a messenger sent by Râmabhadra Reddi, intimation of his intended departure for Fort St. David, he repaired thither on the following night at 10. It is said that his errand is to furnish, from time to time, secret intelligence concerning the political affairs of the country, as he has acquaintances there as far as Râmêsvaram, and can therefore appoint at different places agents to supply him with information, whereas Ôrkandi Rangappa Nâyakkan, the dubâsh of Mr. Hinde, the present Governor of Fort St. David, seldom reports on such matters. I cannot think of any other business that he can have here.

Dubash of late Governor of Fort St. David comes to Vazhudavur.

Departs for that place.

Alleged object of his errand.

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1746.

Governor indisposed.

Tuesday, 9th August 1746, or 28th Âḍi of Akshaya.—The Governor lay in bed this morning until 11, as owing to a head-ache he had had no sleep last night. There was no darbar, and he saw no one until 12.

Complaint from Imam Sahib to Governor of murder of follower.

Wednesday, 10th August 1746, or 29th Âḍi of Akshaya.—A messenger brought a letter from Imâm Sâhib to the Governor. In this it was requested that condign punishment might be inflicted on the murderers of a follower of his, whose corpse had been found near Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai's choultry. As soon as the letter had been interpreted to the Governor, he sent for me, and exclaimed twice or thrice, in my presence, that M. de Lahaye, who exercised jurisdiction over Kâlâpêṭṭai, had not informed him of the murder. He directed me to investigate the matter, and make a report to him. I promised to do so. Madanânda Paṇḍit and Malaiyappa Mudali then informed him that they had interpreted to him a report which had been received some time previously. The Governor turned to me, and asked within whose territory the occurrence mentioned in the letter had taken place. I said that it was in that of the Company. He directed me to make a thorough inquiry, and submit a report. I said that I would, and retired.

Governor directs diarist to make an inquiry.

Nawab writes to Governor for safe conduct for a ship.

Later on a letter arrived from the Nawâb, and was interpreted to the Governor. It stated that a ship belonging to a Muhammadan was about to be despatched from Covelong to Tenasserim, that a

safe conduct was sought for her, and that the owner had expressed his willingness to execute an undertaking to the effect that she should be liable to confiscation, with all her cargo and appurtenances, if she conveyed any goods belonging to the English. The Governor sent for me, and directed me to instruct M. Minos, who is acting as Secretary in the place of M. Duplan, with regard to drawing up, in the proper forms, the deed of agreement and passport, and despatching them to the persons concerned.

Penalty agreed to if she carried goods for English.

Instructions given thereon.

M. Legou, so I was told, forwarded an order for a number of coarse striped cotton cloths to Chinna Mudali who sent Krishṇaiyan, the son of Subbaiyan of the Fort, back with it to ascertain if the cloths were really wanted. M. Legou considered for a while, and then sent Krishṇaiyan to me with an order on behalf of the Company for twenty pieces of the cloth required. He came to me, and communicated the order, stating, at the same time, that he had first taken one of the same kind to Chinna Mudali.

M. Legou sends order for cloths to Chinna Mudali.

Subsequently gives it to diarist.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM AUGUST 11TH, 1746, TO AUGUST 17TH, 1746.

Chinna Mudali visits diarist—Converses with him—Alludes to illness of Governor and departs—Object of visit which he intended paying to Governor—Governor asks diarist to distil some arrack—Conversation on the subject—A supply ordered—Certain officials submit to Governor draft of letter to Dutch—Residents of Kâlâpêṭṭai refused leave to hold festival—Krimâsi Paṇḍit pleading on their behalf, Governor sends for diarist—Asks him if he has inquired regarding murder at Kâlâpêṭṭai—He answers—Questions him regarding interview with Asad Ṣâhib, and he replies—Request of people of Kâlâpêṭṭai granted—Êkâmbara Aiyan brings a Brâhman from Fort St. David to diarist—He delivers message from Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan—This asks for information as to probability of war—Diarist suspects attempts to trick him—Pleads ignorance—Warns messenger of risks which he incurs—Suggests instant departure—He promises to go—Conversation with Êkâmbara Aiyan regarding object of messenger—Belief of diarist that it was to obtain information for English—Êkâmbara Aiyan agrees—War material secretly placed on ship-board—M. Paradis starts for Kârikâl—Guruvappa Cheṭṭi visits diarist—Conversation regarding appointment of latter as chief dubâsh—Guruvappa Cheṭṭi assures him that this has been made—Reply of diarist—Subsequent conversation—News from Mahé—Capture of English ship by French—Governor sends for M. Paradis, who cannot be found—Retail prices of broad-cloths at Madras—Rates for blue and yellow—Governor sends for diarist—Inquires about murder at Kâlâpêṭṭai—He states what he knows—M. de Lahaye sent for—Governor asks of diarist nature of Lazar's illness—He infers from Governor's remarks that he will be appointed chief dubâsh—Governor inquires touching certain accounts, etc.—Diarist reports regarding a certain insolvent—Governor gives instructions—The man finally released—Madame Dupleix sends for diarist—Speaks to him respecting a case referred to him for adjudication—Urges him to deliver his award—He tells her that she has been misinformed—She replies—Informs him that Annapûrṇa Aiyan has offered Governor and her bribes to obtain the courtiership, and remarks that he is incompetent—Speaks flatteringly of fitness of diarist—And assures him of her support—He expresses his gratitude—She mentions her precautions not to prejudice him—He expresses indifference to appointment—She urges him to accept—And says that it will shortly be conferred upon him—Head of police imprisoned on account of a murder—Letter to Governor from Nawâb—Requests French not to alarm people at Madras

—Reply of Governor—News from Cuddalore—Alarm there, and at Fort St. David—Measures taken to secure property, etc.—People fly to Tiruvêndipuram, etc.—Panic on arrival there of M. Paradis—Flight thence of people, and consequent confusion at Cuddalore and Fort St. David—The alarm proving false, confidence restored—Condition of affairs notwithstanding this—Governor calls upon diarist for certain arrack—He replies that it cannot be furnished at once—Governor bids him supply cloth in satisfaction of debt to Company—Diarist suggests to M. de la Touche purchase of arrack, etc., at Porto Novo—He agrees to this, and offers some arrack of his own—Purchase arranged—M. de la Touche promises to attempt further purchases—His anxiety touching his bargain—Diarist transacts some further business, and departs—Friends of Chinna Mudali, hearing that diarist is to be appointed, beg him not to abandon idea of taking office—His family and relatives do the same—He asks senior priest of St. Paul's to use his influence—He consents, and offers advice—The priests seek the support of Madame Dupleix—Who denies all knowledge of the matter—Chinna Mudali determines to seek the favour of the Governor—Diarist declines to accompany him—Madanânda Paṇdit does—His friends follow—Fail to obtain audience—Diarist visits Governor—Emissaries of Nawâb visit Chinna Mudali—M. de la Villebague asks information regarding goods being manufactured for his brother—Conversation regarding goods ordered for his brother—M. Paradis returns from Kârikâl—Diarist ascertains his movements whilst absent—Speculates as to object of his journey—Concludes that it had to do with attack on English—M. Paradis and M. d'Auteuil have interviews with Governor—Who asks diarist about horses—And again consults with M. Paradis—Sea transport engaged—Supplies, etc., shipped—Diarist surmises attack on Madras or Fort St. David—Renewed anxiety of M. de la Touche—Diarist reassures him—Conversation regarding a cargo of arrack from Colombo—Chinna Mudali abuses Annapûrṇa Aiyan and his family—Remarks thereupon of Krimâsi Paṇdit—Reply of Madanânda Paṇdit.

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1746.

Thursday, 11th August 1746, or 30th Âdi of Akshaya.—This morning, on his way back from the house of the Governor, Chinna Mudali came to my storehouse, and sat down on the pial. When I arrived from my residence at 8 o'clock, and seating myself beside him inquired whether he had recovered, he said that he was somewhat better, but that if he attempted to walk he became giddy. I remarked that this must be due to his weak

Chinna Mudali visits diarist.

Converses with him regarding his health.

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condition. He said: "Yes. My health has been much impaired since the death of the Mudali." I replied: "The grief caused by that bereavement must have told upon you." We conversed for a while, on general subjects. He then said: "The Governor appears to have had a head-ache last night; he may go on sleeping for four Indian hours more. I shall therefore return home." So saying he took leave of me, and departed. The object of his intended visit to the Governor was this. His friends have been telling him that he is a loser by not waiting on the Governor, that if I was in his eye for the appointment it would not have been kept in abeyance so long . . . * Urged thus by his people, and partly believing in the possibility of the success of his attempts—though he was far from being sanguine—, and impelled by a mind troubled with conflicting thoughts, he went to the Governor's house, but returned without seeing him.

Chinna Mudali alluding to illness of Governor departs.

Object of visit which he intended paying to the Governor.

At half-past 10, the Governor sent for me, and asked me to distill some arrack, to which I agreed. He asked how much could be manufactured in a day. I answered: "About 500 brasses.†" He remarked: "Your liquor does not possess much

Governor asks diarist to distill some arrack.

* Perished in the original.

† Inquiry at Pondichery and elsewhere, as to the meaning of this word has proved unsuccessful. It is evidently a measure of capacity. The word exists, but is applied only to a measure of length equivalent to the English "fathom".

fragrance; it has a smoky taste." I replied: "That is its nature. I have worked the distillery for the last thirty years. The same still has been in use all along." He then said: "Is this the only kind, or are there two?" I answered: "I hear there is another called '*forte.*'[*] He then ordered me to let him have a supply. I was desirous of telling him that it was difficult to furnish 500 brasses, as some ingredients had to be mixed with the liquor; but I could not find an opportunity of doing so. I returned, hoping to inform him of this on some other occasion.

CHAP. XXIII. 1746. Conversation on the subject.

Governor orders a supply.

As we were engaged in conversation on this subject, MM. d'Espréménil and Minos came, and handed to the Governor a draft reply to a letter from the Dutch, in which they asked why the French had captured, a fortnight previously, a sloop belonging to Negapatam, and a boat from Surat. It is not known what the nature of the answer is to be. The draft will be placed before the Council, and after it has been approved by the members, it will be fair-copied, and signed by them. The terms of it have yet to be learnt.

MM. d'Espréménil and Minos submit to him draft reply to letter from Dutch.

This to be approved and signed by Council.

The residents of Kâlâpêṭṭai sought the help of Malaiyappa Mudali, in view to obtaining the permission of the Governor to celebrate the festival of the local deity, named Mâriyammai. But he refused to grant this favour. They thereupon applied to

Resident of Kalapettai refuse leave to hold a festival.

* Strong, probably: equivalent perhaps to overproof.

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Krimasi Pandit pleading in their behalf, Governor sends for diarist.

Asks him regarding inquiry into murder at Kalapettai.

Questions him regarding interview with Asad Sahib, and he replies.

Krimâsi Paṇḍit, who spoke to the Governor on their behalf. The Governor then bade him send for me, and I was summoned. When I appeared before him, he said : "Have you, as directed by me, made inquiries concerning the murder committed at Kâlâpêṭṭai ?" I replied that I had sent some men to investigate the affair, and would report to him as soon as they returned. He then said : "Wel! ; have you spoken to Asad Ṣâḥib ?" I answered: "I have. He alleged that he could not do anything on his own responsibility. He said many things, to which I made suitable replies. He appears to have written to Arcot on the subject. I presume that on receiving instructions he will give a decided reply." The Governor then remarked : "Supposing that they do not agree, we shall be required to pay interest for the time that we have the money by us. Why should we needlessly give them a month's interest ?" I replied : "How can the man do anything without orders ?" On hearing this he remained silent. I then said to him : "The people of Kâlâpêṭṭai say that a festival should be held in their village, and beg permission to conduct it in the usual way." He replied : "Let them celebrate it according to custom." I communicated the order to them, and bade them go.

Diarist mentions request of the people of Kalapettai, which is granted.

Ekambara Aiyan brings a Brahman from Fort St. David to diarist.

This evening at 6, as I was standing in the street, contemplating going to the Governor's house, Êkâmbara Aiyan, accompanied by a Vaishṇava Brâhman from Paṇḍil Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan, of Fort St.

David, came to me. Taking me aside, he said: "This Brâhman is Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan's servant. He has sent him to you in order to procure some information. It is said that the inhabitants of Fort St. David and Cuddalore do not remain in their houses, that they betake themselves at night to the suburbs outside the limits of the town, return home only in the daytime, and are continually wandering about; and that they are in a state of the greatest alarm, owing to their having heard of the embarkation on ship-board of ladders, tents, and other materials required for the capture of forts. Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan feels much distressed that he has, in ignorance of these circumstances, gone there with his children: if he is given to understand that there are really any grounds for apprehension, he will send his family away. He looks upon you as a trusted friend, not one of to-day or yesterday, but of fifteen years' standing—a period during which you treated one another as if you were of the same household, the one participating in the happiness and the sorrows of the other. If you can positively assure him that there is nothing to be feared, he will keep his children where they are; if not, he will send them away at once, he himself following in two or three days' time. He desires you, if you think it necessary, to retain this Brâhman until such time as any event which may threaten their safety may occur, and then send him back with information as to what has taken place." Êkâmbara Aiyan said all

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Explains why he has been sent.

And states message which he has brought from Muttiyalu Nayakkan.

This asks for information regarding probability of war.

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this in the presence of the Brâhman, when we were standing in the street.

Diarist suspects an attempt to trick him.

Thinking within myself that Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan wished to give me a proof of his astuteness, I replied after some consideration, as follows: "I am in utter ignorance of what goes on here. The Omniscient One who created me may know; but no mortal does. You may ask why matters of this kind are kept so secret. The fact is that the Governor does not divulge them, even to his Council. The knowledge of them is confined to him, to the paper to which they are committed, and to the pen and ink with which he writes them; but naught else can have any idea as to them. M. de la Bourdonnais, who has just arrived as the commander of all the ships here, may have been made acquainted with so much as it may be necessary for him to know. But even he has no knowledge of some of the future plans of the Governor, who if he knew that the hat on his head had learnt the workings of his brain, would rend it into a hundred fragments. Such being the case, who can know what he purposes to do? If your arrival is known to anybody, and if it is suspected that your mission is to obtain information as to what takes place here, you will be involved in trouble from which none can save you. The Governor is advised of the affairs of the town in which you live as distinctly as he sees his own face in a looking-glass. His knowledge of what goes on in a place without his jurisdiction being so thorough, is it a matter for

Pleads secretiveness of Governor as ground of ignorance of anything that is going on.

Warns messenger of the risks which he incurs.

surprise that he obtains accurate information of everything occurring here? I dare say that your arrival, and the purpose which has brought you here have already been communicated to him. I would therefore advise you to betake yourself this very instant out of the town." The Brâhman replied: "Is it so? If such be the state of affairs here, I shall depart at once. I will convey to Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan all that you have been pleased to tell me." I concluded by saying: "Do so please, and give my compliments to him. Communicate, also, my hearty good wishes to his brothers."

Suggests that his arrival already known, and that he should depart.

He promises to go at once, and diarist dismisses him.

Having in this polite manner sent the Brâhman away, I asked of Ekâmbara Aiyan, who stood by me, his opinion of the message sent by Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan. He proceeded to say that in view of the information which the man was able to give as to the state of affairs at Fort St. David, he had brought him to me, in order that I might be made acquainted with them. I observed: "You do not know the artfulness of Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan. What was the object of the authorities at Madras in sending him to Fort St. David? Rangappa Nâyakkan is not expert in secretly procuring political intelligence. On the other hand, Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan, who is an able and energetic man, having long been a resident here, has innumerable friends, can easily get accurate information of what goes on, and can keep his employers regularly informed. It is for this reason that the messenger was sent here. Did

Conversation with Ekâmbara Aiyan touching object of messenger.

Diarist expresses belief that it was to obtain information for English.

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Ekâmbara Aiyan agrees and departs.

I not guess this before? True to my conjecture, he has endeavoured to obtain information from me." Ekâmbara Aiyan exclaimed: "I comprehend. I thought that all his statements were genuine. You have correctly guessed the truth. Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan is no doubt cunning. Detecting his object, you have given him a fitting reply." I replied: "I only spoke the truth." He then went home.

Although I had set out with the view of waiting on the Governor, it having begun to rain, I changed my purpose, and went out in my palanquin.

Chinna Mudali and diarist unable to see Governor as he is indisposed.

Friday, 12th August 1746, or 31st Âḍi of Akshaya.—This morning, Chinna Mudali, the brother of Kanakarâya Mudali, presented himself at the house of the Governor, but finding that he was still suffering from head-ache, remained outside for some time, and then departed. On going there, I too heard the same news, and reached home at noon.

War material secretly placed on board *Marie Gertrude*.

Tents, spears, ammunition, shot, ladders, and all other articles for use in war were secretly conveyed on board the *Marie Gertrude* during the night. Her destination is not yet known. The military stores shipped are such as would be required for war by land, and not for a sea fight. Hence it is surmised that a battle is to be fought on shore. The progress of events will show.

M. Paradis starts *incognito* for Karikal.

This day at 3 in the afternoon, M. Paradis set out for Kârikâl. He bade farewell to no one, and travelled in his palanquin with four peons, unknown to any one else. Kârikâl Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai came here,

and told me that M. Paradis was to go by land as far as Porto Novo, and there take boat to Kârikâl.

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Guruvappa Chetti visits diarist.

At noon, when I was bathing, Guruvappa Cheṭṭi arrived and said: "You tell me no news. How is this?" On my asking what he referred to, he replied: "I have heard that it has been decided in Council to appoint you chief dubâsh." "Who told you that?" said I. He answered: "Swâminâdhan, the son of Sadaiyappa Mudali, went to see the clerks at M. Cornet's office in the fort. They asked him when you were to be appointed chief dubâsh. He said that he did not know. They replied that even if he did, he would keep the news to himself. He then requested them to tell him what they had learnt. They informed him that when the Council sat, four days ago, the Governor asked the Councillors to confer on you the post of Company's courtier, that they assented to the proposal, and signed the warrant of appointment, and that the Governor will give you the place when he thinks fit; probably next Monday. This is what was told me by Swâminâdhan. The news is not false; it is absolutely true. So certain is it, that even the day of your appointment—next Monday—is exactly known. You are aware of it yourself, but, of course, you keep it secret. Do this if you like, but it will be made public next Monday." I observed: "If, as you say, my appointment has been decided upon in Council, would the Councillors have proceeded to appoint me, without first ascertaining my wishes on the

Conversation regarding appointment of latter as chief dubash.

Guruvappa Chetti assures him that this has been made.

Reply of diarist.

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Rejoinder of Guruvappa Chetti and subsequent conversation.

subject?" He replied: "The Governor has hitherto been communicating to you all the Company's affairs. Did he ever ask your consent before doing so?" I remarked that that was a different case from the present. On this he assured me that the two were similar, and consequently that the Governor had not sought my assent to the appointment, and had said that he would send for and confer the post on me. I said that more accurate information with regard to this matter must be obtained.

News from Mahé.

This evening at 6, runners brought the mail from Mahé. They stated that they had made the journey in twelve days. They brought the intelligence that a sloop, equipped for war, had sailed from Mascareigne in search of the seven ships, that she fell in with two belonging to the English, bound for Bombay, and engaging them, took one—the other sailing away, and escaping—that the booty found in the prize amounted in value to Rs. 80,000, and that the sloop, taking her in tow, had brought her to Mahé.

Capture of an English ship by French.

Governor sends for M. Paradis who cannot be found.

On the arrival of the mail, the Governor sent peons, so I was told, to summon M. Paradis, but after seeking for him everywhere they returned, and reported that he had left the town. Can it be that the Governor does not know of his departure? It is hard to understand this manœuvring.

Prices of broad-cloths a Madras.

Saturday, 13th August 1746, or 1st Âvaṇi of Akshaya, Dwâdasi. Constellation Tiruvâdirai.—To-day, Venkaṭâchala Piḷḷai told me that he had

received a letter from Kumarappa Mudali of the Madras warehouse regarding the rate at which the three kinds of coarse broad-cloth specified below sold there :—

		Roll.	Cost. Star Pagodas.
Orange coloured	...	1	24
Scarlet 'lac' coloured	...	1	17
Green coloured	...	1	16
		Total ...	57

The term fixed for payment was two months.

This the price at which Company's merchants retail these.

He said that the foregoing was the rate at which the Company's merchants sold the goods to the petty bazaar dealers ; but that the price at which they purchased them from the warehouse-keeper at the fort had not been communicated. He stated that he had written to Bâla Muttu Cheṭṭi, as he was the proper person to give this information.

Rates at which they sell yellow and blue broad-cloths.

The yellow and blue broad-cloths are sold at Madras by the Company's merchants to the petty bazaar dealers, at the rate of $16\frac{1}{2}$ and 18 pagodas a roll, respectively ; the period allowed for payment being two months. I have asked also for information as to how these goods are sold to the former at the fort.

Governor sends for diarist.

At about 10 o'clock, the Governor sent for me, and asked whether I had lately received any money. I replied that I expected some. He then inquired regarding the case of the Muhammadan who was stabbed to death at Kâlâpêṭṭai. I said : "The dead body was dug up by a jackal, and

Inquires about the murder at Kalapettai.

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He states what he knows.

dragged from the spot where it had been buried. The owner of the land on which the corpse lay exposed in this fashion, reported the matter to the village watchman, who together with the Company's peons, examined it, and gave intimation to Lazar, at the instance of whom the body was again inspected and reported upon by the Brâhman employed at my choultry. But nobody seems to know what led to the murder, and who the offender was. This information has not yet transpired." He then asked why M. de Lahaye had made no report of this matter.

M. de Lahaye sent for in this connection.

I said that I did not know the reason. He then ordered me to summon M. de Lahaye. I accordingly instructed the mace-bearer to tell him to attend, and he set off on his errand.

Governor inquires of diarist nature of Lazar's illness.

The Governor then turned to me and said: "What is the nature of Lazar's disease?" I replied: "I do not exactly know. But he went to see you yesterday." He exclaimed: "I saw him; he is very sickly, and could not work energetically if appointed to any public office." I remained silent.

Diarist infers from Governor's remarks that he will be appointed chief dubash.

The remark made by the Governor seems to confirm the statement of Guruvappa Chetti that the appointment of courtier has been settled by the Council, and that I shall be given it on Monday next.

Governor asks about certain accounts, etc.

The Governor then questioned me regarding the accounts of Sêshâchala Chetti. I replied that these, as well as those of Venkataiyan, had both been settled. He next made inquiries regarding certain matters, and I gave him the requisite information,

after which I said to him: "The Brâhman Narasaiyan, who was a dependant of Venkaṭaiyan, and who has been in confinement, has given up all the documents in his possession, and they have been placed in the hands of the arbitrators. He says that he is a pauper, and that no good can result from his being kept under restraint." The answer made by the Governor was: "Send for Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan, and tell him so. If he has no objection, the prisoner may be set at large." When I accordingly spoke to Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan, he replied: "He will in future be of no use." I then made over charge of him to Narasaiyan, remarking: "You can do as you like with him." The Company's peons subsequently came, and informed me that having been authorized by Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan to release the prisoner, they had done so.

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Diarist reports touching a certain insolvent.

Governor gives instructions.

The man finally released.

This evening at half-past 5, the wife of the Governor sent for me, and said: "I asked Muttu-râma Cheṭṭi why the money due to the Brâhmans of the Madras mint had not been paid by Sungu Râma Cheṭṭi. He replied that this would be attended to after the settlement of accounts. I then said angrily to him that the Governor's accountant Ranga Piḷḷai, and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, were those who were dissuading him from making the payment, and threatened that I would report the matter to my husband. I told them that as you had been appointed to adjudicate on the dispute, I would speak to you about it. As you have been vested with authority to dispose of

Me. Dupleix sends for diarist.

Speaks to him regarding a case referred to him for adjudication.

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1746.

Urges him to deliver his award.

the matter, do not listen to the words of these dogs, and deliver your award soon." I replied: "Madame; the accountant Ranga Piḷḷai, and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, have no concern in this matter. I am the person who is engaged in investigating the claim. You must have been misinformed. If you make proper inquiries you will come to know the truth." She exclaimed: "You do not know what has actually taken place, Rangappa. They have made many groundless complaints to the Governor against you, also. You do not know them."

He tells her that she has been misinformed.

She replies.

She continued: "I have yet another communication to make to you; but you must keep it to yourself." My answer was: "Am I a mad-man? I never divulge anything that is told me confidentially." She then went on to say: "You know that Brâhman, Annapûrṇa Aiyan. He has offered to pay 5,000 pagodas to the Governor, and another 1,500 to me if he is appointed as the Company's courtier. How can he furnish the money?" I replied: "He would not have made the offer unless he was promised it by some merchant or Muhammadan in the interior." She observed: "But he has no capacity for work. He is not a particularly careful man, and is wanting in power of expressing himself. He is skilled in prescribing medicines, but what experience has he in matters connected with trade and commerce? He is not qualified for the situation. On the other hand, you have had a training under us from your youth. If it is bestowed

Informs him that Annapurna Aiyan has offered Governor and her bribes to obtain the courtiership.

And remarks that he is incompetent.

Speaks flatteringly of fitness of diarist for the post.

upon you, you will discharge the duties connected with it efficiently. The Governor himself has told me that even Pedro did not know as much as you do. Although he is rather favourably disposed towards Lazar, he believes that the man cannot cope with the work. This being his opinion of Lazar, how can he encourage any expectations in that Brâhman who can never hope to hold his own? When the subject of his application was mooted in my presence, I put an end to further talk regarding it, for if it be started again before any other person, the matter would reach the Governor's ears, and who knows that he may not be tempted by the alluring offer made? I always speak favourably of you, so that his mind may not be diverted from you. We are Christians; and Christians do not break promises. I suggested to the Governor that the appointment should be conferred upon you. I also gave you an assurance that I would endeavour to get you the situation. Would I therefore, in violation of my promise, speak on behalf of another? You may rest assured of my being faithful to it. You are my son; and the Governor has also told me that he regarded you most certainly as his." I then exclaimed: "Madame, I am his slave. I can never make an adequate requital for all his favours to me. I can hope to discharge my obligations to him only when he, by re-incarnation, is born to me as my son, but not otherwise. This is my firm conviction. How can I otherwise recompense his kindness to me?"

Refers to Lazar.

Says that she put an end to any talk of appointing the Brahman.

And assures diarist that he shall have her support.

He expresses his gratitude.

CHAP. XXIII.

1746.

She mentions her precautions not to prejudice him.

After I had spoken to her of the Governor in this complimentary style for a long while, she again said: "I have not mentioned to my husband either the application of Lazar, or that of Annapûrṇa Aiyan, lest he should think of offering the office to any person other than yourself. The prospect of large gains may tempt him." I replied: "If there be any chance of you and the Governor profiting largely by conferring the appointment on another, it should not be thrown away. As for myself, what have you left for me to wish? You have accorded to me every honour that could be desired, and all business is being carried on through me." She exclaimed: "Why do you say so? If you speak like that, and the Governor comes to hear of it, he may take offence. He may be displeased that you make light of the appointment, when he is bent upon giving it to you. Do not mention to any other person—as you have just told me—that you do not care for it. I am confiding information to you, and let it be a secret between you and me. I have to congratulate you. You will, within the next four or five days, be appointed by the Governor, Company's courtier. You may take leave, Rangappa." I then, with an expression of thanks ot her, departed.

He replies.

And expresses indifference to appointment.

She urges him to accept it.

And says that it will very shortly be conferred upon him.

Head of police imprisoned on account of a murder.

The Governor has ordered the local native head of police to be thrown into prison, on account of the murder of the Muhammadan on the road to Kâlâpêṭṭai. He was accordingly imprisoned, at noon.

This evening at 6, a messenger from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân brought and delivered a letter from him to the Governor. Malaiyappa Mudali and Madanânda Paṇḍit interpreted it. It ran: "Your men-of-war are reported to have arrived from France. The sowcars, officials, and other inhabitants of Madras, are much alarmed at the appearance of these ships. Please order the officers of the fleet not to afford ground for such apprehension." The Governor directed that the following reply should be sent: "No harm to the inhabitants of Madras is contemplated by the ships of war. On the contrary they have come there to punish the enemies of its people." This intelligence was communicated to me by Madanânda Paṇḍit, at 9. He further told me that the reply had been written, and would be despatched on the morrow.

CHAP. XXIII. 1746. Letter to Governor from the Nawab.

Requests orders to French not to alarm people at Madras.

Reply of the Governor.

At 8 this evening, Nâtti Paṭṭan who had been to Cuddalore to deliver a letter on palmyra leaf written to Elaichiyappan returned with a reply. He communicated the following intelligence. During the last four days, Cuddalore and Fort St. David have been in a state of great alarm. Men and women have been deserting their homes. The traders have been disposing of their goods at low prices. Some have deposited their wealth in the fort for security, others have buried their treasure underground, whilst a few have thrown their valuables into wells. The measures to which people resort during a time of tumult, to secure person and property have all been

News brought by Natti Pattan from Cuddalore.

Alarm here and at Fort St. David.

Measures taken to secure property etc.

Chap. XXIII.

1746.

People fly to Tiruvendipuram, etc.

adopted. When, as is said to have been the case, officials and men of rank fled during the night, and took refuge in Tiruvêndipuram, and other villages in the Nawâb's country, it is needless to mention what the traders, and the common people did. Men who are wise will understand the rest. As I said before, all the inhabitants have betaken themselves from Fort St. David and Cuddalore. Last night, when M. Paradis reached Tiruvêndipuram, the people who had taken refuge there, supposing that he had come with an army to attack them, fled panic-stricken to Tiruppâppuliyûr; the residents of the last-mentioned place also took fright, and they and the new-comers rushed into Cuddalore and Fort St. David, infecting the few who remained there with the panic which had seized them. The Europeans rushed to arms, manned the guns, and were in a state of the wildest alarm imaginable. It is impossible to describe all the horrors of that night. If the confusion and terror which, for the space of an Indian hour, prevailed amongst the Europeans, officials, and Tamilians of Cuddalore and Fort St. David were to be adequately described on paper, the account would fill 100 pages. However, by the mercy of God, no one suffered any harm. When the morning dawned, the confusion subsided, and peace filled the hearts of every one when they heard that M. Paradis had gone to Kârikâl. By night, the people betake themselves to adjacent villages, and by day they return to their homes. They have hidden all their property, and one might

Panic there on arrival of M. Paradis.

Flight thence of people and consequent confusion at Cuddalore and Fort St. David.

The alarm proving false, confidence restored.

Condition of affairs notwithstanding this.

seek in vain for even a brass vessel used for domestic purposes. A hundred pages would not suffice to describe in detail all that has occurred. There is no need to write more, for the thoughtful can picture to themselves what happens during a time of unrest, when every mind is sorely troubled.

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Sunday, 14th August 1746, or 2nd Āvaṇi of Akshaya.—This evening, the Governor sent for me, and told me that he required 100 casks* of arrack. I replied: "There is no time. If we had taken steps earlier, we might have provided ourselves with any quantity that was required. We need for the preparation of the liquor spacious accommodation, and a large supply of jaggery.† Is arrack an article which can be purchased at a moment's notice? I have received news that Goa arrack is available in the market at Cuddalore. We may try to get it." He answered: "The authorities there will not authorize the sale of it to us. We must have it distilled here."

Governor calls upon diarist for 100 casks arrack.

He replies that these cannot be furnished at once.

He then said: "You owe a sum of money to the Company. Can you supply, for shipment in January next, 200 bales of blue cloth, to the value of the amount due?" I agreed to do this. He then told me to make out a list of the goods which I could furnish by the month of October.

Governor bids him supply cloth in satisfaction of debt to Company.

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* In the diary the word "lêger" is used. This is clearly the French word "lègre" which is stated in an old French book on arithmetic (1838) to refer to a cask (tonneau) of Colombo arrack, the contents of which were 580 litres = 126·975 gallons.

† Coarse treacly sugar made from the sap of the cane and that of sundry palms.

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1746.

Diarist suggests to M. de la Touche.

Purchase of arrack, etc., at Porto Novo.

He agrees to this and offers some arrack of his own.

Purchase arranged.

M. de la Touche promises to attempt further purchases from Madras.

His anxiety touching his bargain.

Diarist transacts some further business and departs.

Monday, 15th August 1746, or 3rd Âvani of Akshaya.—I went to M. de la Touche, and said to him: "Fifty or sixty casks of Colombo arrack are available at Porto Novo. Kindly write a letter to M. Astruc asking him to purchase them. Please also tell him to buy 500 or 600 blocks of jaggery, packed in palmyra-leaves—as many as can be procured." He promised to do this, and asked me whether I would take twenty casks which he had by him. I inquired how he would sell them. He replied: "I will let you know what the cost to me was. Allow me some profit." I replied: "Certainly. What is the price?" His answer was: "I paid 50 pagodas. I will take whatever profit you may give me over that sum." I replied: "I do not require any for myself. I will pay you the full amount for which I sell to the Company." On this he said: "Very well. There are at Madras about fifty casks more belonging to M. Vermont. The English will not permit their being taken to Pondichery. I shall, however, attempt to procure them. I will also endeavour to arrange for the purchase of as many more as may be available there. Will you, without fail, take the twenty casks which are with me?" I exclaimed: "Most assuredly. The goods are mine." He said: "So be it;" and I took leave of him. I then returned, prepared in consultation with him a list of the articles of merchandise to be supplied to the Company in the ensuing months of October and January respectively, and then went home.

Tuesday, 16th August 1746, or 4th Âvani of Akshaya.—Hearing a rumour yesterday that I was to be appointed as chief dubâsh, Vîrâ Chetti, Sankara Aiyan, and other intimate friends of Chinna Mudali, after deliberating amongst themselves, advised him in these words : "Your plan of keeping to your house does not seem wise. Is your face an object of worship like to Garuda * surmounted by Vishnu? Is it right that you should hesitate to spend some money? The appointment is one which has been hereditary in your family. It was when he was in that office that your brother obtained his riches. You are not justified in giving up such a lucrative post. If you retain possession of it, the village which the Nawâb granted to your brother may be continued to you. If not, you may lose it. You will also be deprived of the emoluments of the mint. You will lose your credit in the matter of borrowing and lending, and in all business transactions." His wife, brothers-in-law, nephews, and other relatives, as well as the blind broker Nallatambi Mudali, also remonstrated with him.

Chap. XXIII. — 1746. Friends of Chinna Mudali hearing rumour that diarist is to be appointed. Beg him not to abandon the idea of taking office.

His family and relatives do the same.

Chinna Mudali, whose ambition was excited by these entreaties and remonstrances, wavered somewhat in his resolution not to incur any preliminary expenditure in connection with the vacancy. Making up his mind, therefore, to sacrifice something,

He thereupon visits senior priest of St. Paul's and seeks his influence.

* The vehicle of the God Vishnu. Generally depicted as something between a man and a bird and considered the sovereign of the feathered race. The native name of the white breasted kite, which is held sacred, is "Garuda."

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1746.

he went to the senior priest of the church of St. Paul, and said to him: "It is understood that Rangappan will be offered the chief dubâshship. If this is done, the effect will not be beneficial to the Christians. The Hindus will then become the influential party. You must take some interest in this matter, and make an effort in my favour." The priest replied: "We will, most assuredly, exert ourselves on your behalf. But do not remain indoors. You should, day and night, be in attendance at the Governor's house." In accordance with this promise, the priests repaired to Madame Dupleix, and addressed her thus: "Is it in contemplation to appoint a Hindu to be courtier? You have come here to establish Christianity. Can the post be given in your days to a non-Christian?" After they had spoken at much length against my appointment, Madame Dupleix replied: "I have no knowledge of this affair. I will speak to the Governor. You had also better see him about it." The chief priest, through a catechist of the church of St. Paul, communicated the result of the interview to Chinna Mudali, who, it would appear, told him that he, also, would see the Governor, and settle the matter. Armed with strong recommendations, fully determined to part with any sum that might be required as an inducement, and with his mind made up to wait assiduously on the Governor, he set forth on his way to the Governor's residence. On his way he came to me at the arecanut storehouse

He consents and offers some advice.

The priests seek the support of Me. Dupleix.

Who denies all knowledge of the matter.

Chinna Mudali determines to seek the favour of the Governor.

and invited me to go with him. I, however, declined to do so, telling him that I was busy. He then went on. Madanânda Pandit, seeing that he was now fired with a desire to get the appointment and was prepared to spend money on that account, accompanied him very readily, and with much pleasure.

CHAP. XXIII. — 1746. Diarist refuses to accompany him but Madananda Pandit does so.

After an interval of four Indian hours, Chinna Mudali's bosom friends Vîrâ Chetti, Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti, and two or three of the Company's merchants, also went to the Governor's house. They all remained there for about three or four Indian hours, and returned home at 11. They have not been able to speak to the Governor.

His friends follow.

They il to obtain audience.

I also visited the Governor to-day, paid my respects, and came away.

Diarist visits Governor.

Two messengers from the Nawâb arrived to-day. They did not bring any letters to the Governor. They went to Chinna Mudali, and told him that they had been sent by the Nawâb, with instructions to keep him informed of everything transpiring here in connection with the war which has been declared between the French and English. They are now always hanging about the town.

Emissaries of the Nawab visit Chinna Mudali.

Wednesday, 17th August 1746, or 5th Âvani of Akshaya.—M. de la Villebague, the brother of M. de la Bourdonnais, sent for me to-day, and asked for a statement of the goods which were being manufactured, telling me that he required some for sale on the Malabar coast. He then said that the goods of which his brother had furnished me with

M. de la Villebague asks diarist for information regarding goods being manufactured.

CHAP. XXIII.

1746.

Conversation regarding goods ordered for his rother.

a list must be completed soon, and promised to send me 20,000 or 25,000 pagodas on the morrow. I then remarked: "Your brother left word with you very long ago. Why did you delay so much in giving the order?" Upon this he poured forth all the sorrows of his heart, and I made a reply of some sort to him. I then took leave, and came away.

M. Paradis returns from Karikal.

Diarist ascertains his movements whilst absent.

M. Paradis, who set out on Saturday for Kârikâl, returned to Pondichery by boat this morning, at about 6 or 7. Surprised at his speedy journey and quick return, I instituted inquiries, and learned that after reaching Kârikâl he breakfasted there, went on board the ship commanded by M. de la Bourdonnais, conversed with him, slept there that night, landed next morning at sunrise, breakfasted at Kârikâl, and started thence in a double boat, reaching Pondichery at 6 this morning. When I came to think over this journey of M. Paradis, it occurred to me that he was entrusted with some message to deliver to M. de la Bourdonnais, which either could not be conveniently conveyed in writing, or which it was feared might, if so communicated, be intercepted on the way. Trusting to time to reveal the truth or falsity of it, I will hazard a conjecture as to the nature of the message carried by him. It appears to me that the French have decided to attack either Madras, or Fort St. David. It seems probable that as soon as powder, ball, and all other munitions of war, had been conveyed on board the *Marie Gertrude* and two other sloops, M. Paradis

Speculates as to object of his journey.

Concludes that it had to do with proposed attack on English.

was sent to communicate to M. de la Bourdonnais the time of departure of these vessels, as well as their destination; and to intimate to him at the same time that he should direct his fleet to proceed to the same place.

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M. Paradis and M. d'Auteuil have interviews with Governor.

When M. Paradis returned, he had a talk with the Governor. After he had gone home, the Governor and M. d'Auteuil were closeted together. After a while, the former sent for me, and asked whether the horses were ready. I replied that they would be at any time, provided that three hours' notice was given. He directed me to make the necessary arrangements.

Who asks diarist about the horses ordered.

And consults with M. Paradis again.

In the afternoon, the Governor and M. Paradis went to the beach, and had a long talk. The Governor then sent for M. Auger, the Superintendent of the Port office, and directed him to engage for transport purposes all the boats, coasters, and other craft, lying in the port. He accordingly boarded everything of this class in the roads, in order to inspect it. M. Paradis had previously visited the Company's ships and sloops, and examined them. The Governor and he continued to converse on the beach until the evening. After they had departed, the boatmen were all impressed, and were, during the whole of the night, compelled to convey to the boats tents, poles, and other supplies; together with all the materials and stores required for a campaign by land. Such was the intelligence communicated to me. I surmise from this that a land attack is

Directions given by Governor regarding procuring sea transport.

Supplies, etc., shipped.

Diarist surmises a land attack on Madras or Fort St. David.

CHAP. XXIII.

1746.

meditated, either on Madras, or Fort St. David. By and by, the matter will be made clear.

Renewed anxiety of M. de la Touche touching his bargain.

This day at half-past 9, M. de la Touche visited me at my arecanut storehouse, and asked if I would really take the twenty casks of Colombo arrack which he had by him. I replied: "Why do you doubt? I will give you a note saying that I have purchased them from you, and you had better also furnish me with one stating that you have sold them to me." On this he said: "Your word is enough. I hear that a ship laden with arrack has arrived from Colombo. If the Governor takes the consignment, there will be no need for what I have. It was in consequence of this that I asked this question." I replied: "Even should the Governor reject it, I will cause it to be kept in my liquor shop, for retail sale. I will certainly not withdraw from my bargain with you. Believe me implicitly that I am as honest with you, as you are with me." Then, after talking to him on general topics for a while, I bade him farewell.

Diarist reassures him.

Conversation regarding cargo of arrack from Colombo.

Chinna Mudali hearing that Annapurna Aiyan is a candidate for office abuses him and his family.

This morning, Chinna Mudali, having heard that Annapûrṇa Aiyan was also an applicant for the situation of chief dubâsh, reviled him before an assembly of 100 persons, in a most intemperate manner, and without any decency whatever, in the following words: "His daughter is an unchaste girl. His wife is a lustful woman, who has in her amours no scruple as to caste or creed. She is also on terms of intimacy with Muhammadans and East Indians. He

owed my brother about 80 or 90 pagodas, but declines to repay the amount, on the ground that, as a set off, he treated some sick members of the family. I will take care that he is imprisoned." Then Krimâsi Paṇḍit, addressing Madanânda Paṇḍit, said: "Chinna Mudali is as excited as he is, because he fears that Annapûrṇa Aiyan may secure the appointment. I suppose that he will calm down when this man fails to get it. I will tell him not to seek the post. I do not know who gave him such false information." Madanânda Paṇḍit replied: "Annapûrṇa Aiyan told me, in person, that he had secured Rs. 10,000, that if I would be instrumental in obtaining a further sum of Rs. 6,000 from Tarwâḍi, he would be appointed to the situation, and that this had been settled through the intervention of Madame Dupleix."

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1746.

Remarks thereupon of Krimasi Paṇḍit.

Reply of Madananda Paṇḍit.

The foregoing account of what occurred in Chinna Mudali's house was related to me by Krimâsi Paṇḍit.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM AUGUST 18TH, 1746, TO AUGUST 25TH, 1746.

Force of sepoys supplied with ammunition—Reported that they embark next morning—Governor directs despatch of a letter to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl—Contents of this—Governor asks diarist about horses—He replies—Owners of two ships granted safe-conducts—Remarks regarding folly of Annapûrṇa Aiyan in seeking chief dubâshship—Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai and Madame Dupleix blamed for this—Further remarks on Annapûrṇa Aiyan—Troops, etc., embarked—Muttu Cheṭṭi and another inform diarist of intended sale of condemned stock—And propose that they should jointly purchase it—Reflections of diarist on being compelled by poverty to assent—Account given by M. Mathieu of contents of letter from M. de la Bourdonnais to Governor—Arrival of fleet at Negapatam—What took place between M. de la Bourdonnais and the authorities there—The State reception accorded to him—And the final settlement of French claims—Departure thence of the fleet to meet the English—As M. Mathieu concludes, they are informed of report of capture of four English ships—News that fleets met—Governor inquires of diarist how manufacture of arrack progresses—Asks what son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib said regarding certain interest due—Diarist calculates this—Governor desires him to bid the parties bring their bonds—He proceeds to do so—Son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib speaks abusively of the Governor—And threatens to leave, unless payment in full made—Diplomatic conduct of diarist with regard to the Governor—Whom he, by representation of poverty of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, induces to pay interest due—Compliment paid by Asad Ṣâḥib to diarist—Amount payable finally calculated—And bond sent with certain persons to Governor's house—Objection taken to receiving payment in Pondichery pagodas—Diarist rebukes objector—Matter amicably settled—Governor produces amount originally calculated—But on error being pointed out pays correct amount—His wrath at proposal to deliver bond after actual payment—Diarist obtains and hands it over to Governor—Who then allows the money to be removed—Cashier sent to count and make it over—Governor continues in an angry mood—Cashier reports that payment has been made—Drunken officer causes guns to be fired—Creates a false alarm, and is violent—Imprisoned by order of Governor—Varying inferences as to why guns were fired—Governor calls on diarist to supply horses—French fleet sighted—Fourteen horses collected—Complaint against diarist of improper seizure of a horse—Diarist explains matters to Governor—Who, much incensed with the complainants, bids them depart—And directs return of mare taken from a Brâhman—Futile attempts to recover the animal—Diarist sends message to M. d'Auteuil requesting release of it—Military preparations at Pondichery—

Krishnaiyan fails to see M. d'Auteuil—His conversation with M. de Bury—Who refuses to return the mare. on the plea that this would be contrary to orders—Diarist repeats his request—M. de Bury adheres to his decision—Krimâsi Pandit visits diarist—And informs him of order of Governor to arrest interpreter of Madame Dupleix—And that this was subsequently cancelled—Governor speaks to diarist regarding case of Suga Sing—Governor takes Krimâsi Pandit to task for not attending when summoned—He offers explanation—Governor, being exasperated, seizes a cane to beat him, but he evades him—Governor, taking him unawares, kicks, and drives him out—Fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais arrives—Being ill, he comes ashore—Taken to Governor's house—Arrangements for his reception there—Posting of special guards—He visits the Governor—Confers with him and M. Paradis—Relates particulars of his recent cruise—Proceeds to M. Desjardins' house, and remains there—Closing of all the main gates, with the exception of wicket in one—Letters with those passing through this examined—Nothing inculpatory being found, gates reopened—Diarist believes object of action taken to be seizure of clandestine letters to English—Infers that interpreter of Madame Dupleix must be person suspected—Firing of salutes on eve of King's birthday—Salutes on the day itself—Drinking of King's health by Governor and guests—Terror caused by firing of heavy guns—M. de la Villebague receives list of goods ordered from diarist—Council discusses plans of attack on Madras—Performance of vernacular ode in honour of diarist.

Force of sepoys supplied with ammunition.

Thursday, 18th August 1746, or 6th Âvani of Akshaya.—To-day 200 sepoys of the force from Mahé were marched in military order into the fort, and ten rounds of ammunition were distributed to each man. At 4 this afternoon, a few more sepoys were furnished with powder and ball. The number of men who were so provided, both in the morning, and in the evening, would be about 350. It is reported that they will embark, to-morrow morning, on board the ship and sloops lying in the roadstead; but it appears to me that they will march by land.

Reported that they embark next morning.

At noon this day, the Governor directed Madanânda Pandit to write a letter to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, in

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1746.

Governor directs despatch of letter to 'Abd-ul-Jalil.

Contents of this.

these terms: "We hear that the bullocks intended for the use of the Company are employed by the people of your country, to plough their lands. We pass this over on this occasion, because you are our friend. Issue such orders to your subjects, that the like may not occur again." The despatch of this letter was in consequence of a complaint made by Parasurâma Piḷḷai.

Governor asks diarist about horses, he replies.

Friday, 19th August 1746, or 7th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—When I went to see the Governor, he asked me if the horses were ready. I replied that I would send for them whenever they were wanted. I afterwards informed him that a safe-conduct had been requested for a ship, the property of Mamrêz Khân of Mylapore, and for another belonging to Mîrân Marakkâyan of Porto Novo, both of them being bound for Tenasserim and Queda. The Governor said that the owners must execute a deed in writing, binding themselves not to carry any goods belonging to the English. I replied that I had already obtained from them the requisite documents, duly written, signed, and sealed. He then directed M. Minos, the Secretary, to issue the passes. M. Minos took me to his room, and having ascertained from me the names of the ships, and other particulars, informed me that he would issue the papers the next day, or on that following. On this I sent away the men who came for the safe-conducts, telling them to call the next day, or the day after.

Owners of two ships apply for safe-conducts.

These granted under certain conditions.

As regards Annapûrṇa Aiyan, who seeks the appointment of chief dubâsh, he seems to think that holding the office means merely the piling up of pagodas in his coffers. He is unwise to bid for this situation in the way that he does, unless he is confident that he has capacity sufficient to discharge the duties attaching to it. This is the general opinion. Some men have set him up in order to make him a laughing-stock. But Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai, who brought him to Madame Dupleix, and the lady herself—who opined that he was a person worthy of her support—are mainly to blame. However, the standard of morality here is such. The protection of God alone must be looked for. Annapûrṇa Aiyan has not yet given up hope. He is still making efforts, and will, in spite of the ridicule of the public, continue to do so until the appointment is bestowed upon another. His imprudence seems to be unexampled. But every man when tempted by the circumstances of the moment, at times loses his senses in one way or another. Just now, his name has attracted people's attention.

CHAP. XXIV. — 1746. Remarks touching folly of Annapurna Aiyan in seeking chief dubashship.

Narayana Pillai and Me. Dupleix blamed for this.

Further remarks on Annapurna Aiyan.

Sixty soldiers were put on board the *Marie Gertrude* at midnight, as were ladders, tents, ropes, and other warlike stores. Provisions were also taken in. Sheep, bullocks, pigs, fowls, bread, and liquors, were shipped; and the guards on the beach said that there was nothing more to be embarked.

Troops, etc., embarked on *Marie Gertrude*.

On the evening of this day, Muttu Cheṭṭi and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi visited me, and said: "The

CHAP. XXIV. — 1746.

Mutthu Chetti and another inform diarist of intended sale of condemned stock.

And propose that they should jointly purchase it.

Governor has ordered M. Cornet to dispose of broad-cloth to all persons applying for it, and to sell by auction such as may be damp, or injured by insects. To prevent the material passing into the hands of others, we will, in conjunction with Irusappa Muttu Cheṭṭi, take the whole lot, and not allow others access to M. Cornet." Being of opinion that I ought not to say much on this matter, I replied: "What you suggest is wise. To-morrow being inauspicious, on account of Chaturti, we will draw up the necessary agreement on Panchami which is the day after." But overwhelmed by the idea that on account of my impecunious circumstances, the rough-skinned toads were beginning to hunt, I thought of God, and felt vexed within myself that I should have been reduced to such a plight.

Reflections of diarist on being compelled by poverty to assent.

The account given by M. Mathieu of contents of letter from M. de la Bourdonnais to Governor.

Saturday, 20th August 1746, or 8th Âvani of Akshaya.—I went to the Governor's house at 8 this morning, and having saluted him, took my seat in the hall, when M. Mathieu, the Governor's [head accountant], called me, and asked whether I knew the contents of the letter from M. de la Bourdonnais received on the previous evening by the Governor. I desired him to inform me what these were. He, thereupon, said as follows:—

Arrival of fleet at Negapatam.

"M. de la Bourdonnais arrived with his fleet, and anchored at Negapatam. Immediately afterwards, the Governor of the town despatched his Councillors to confer with him. They accordingly boarded the

French Admiral's ship, and proceeded to remonstrate with him on having seized, as they were passing Pondichery, a sloop and a three masted craft belonging to the Dutch which were coming from Surat. They said that they were not aware of having infringed any international law. M. de la Bourdonnais asked them how they came to purchase from the English, whom they knew to be at war with his nation, the Manilla ship, and another captured at Mergui from the French, and he threatened them with the seizure of every sea-going vessel belonging to them, wherever found. The Councillors returned in their boat to the shore, and communicated the result of the conference to the Governor. He immediately held a Council, and it was decided that the Deputy Governor, and the Councillors should go off to M. de la Bourdonnais' ship and invite him to land. It was next ordered that Negapatam should be profusely decorated; that the streets should be watered, and adorned with plantain trees, and that triumphal arches should be erected; that white cloths, to walk upon, should be spread on the ground, that the guns on the fortifications, and on the beach, should be loaded, and that a guard of honour should be formed of Europeans, merchants, officers, soldiers, East Indians, Carnatic sepoys, and others, dressed in their best. With this escort, and with flourishes of trumpets, drums, etc., the Governor proceeded to the beach, to await the arrival of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Deputation of Councillors remonstrates regarding seizure of Dutch ships.

Threats of M. de la Bourdonnais owing to purchase of French ships from English.

Preparations for according him a state reception.

Governor proceeds to the beach.

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The conciliatory measures taken to induce M. de la Bourdonnais to land.

In the meantime, the Deputy Governor of Negapatam and the Councillors embarked in a boat, went on board the ship in which M. de la Bourdonnais was, and addressed him in these words: 'You are angry with us, because we purchased those two ships. We did not see any harm in the transaction, for it was a regular sale. We however were in fault in one point—in that we bought the ships, knowing that they were yours, and being aware also that there was war between you, and the English. We did not sufficiently recognize this at the time. We entreat you to overlook our fault. We undertake to pay you from our treasury, within fifteen days, the amount which you claim as the value of your ships. Forgive us now, and condescend to visit our town, and partake of the banquet prepared for you. We beg that you will issue orders that none of our ships, wherever they may be found, are to be molested by the French. Our Governor is burning with desire to see you, and is waiting for you on the beach. Deign to come.' In such terms as these, they entreated him to visit Negapatam. M. de la Bourdonnais, being thus importuned, was appeased, and having directed the ship's officers to maintain a strict watch during his absence, entered, with his retinue, a boat, and landed with great pomp. The guns on the fort walls, as well as those on the ships, then fired a salute. The Governor met M. de la Bourdonnais on the beach, and conducted him in state along the carpeted way to the fort. M. de

And to refrain from carrying out his threats.

Landing in state and entertainment by the Governor

la Bourdonnais was entertained at a grand banquet. The Governor executed to his guest a deed binding himself to pay the value of the ships within fifteen days, and obtained from him a general safe-conduct, to protect the Dutch shipping from molestation by the French. Whilst M. de la Bourdonnais was still at table, news was brought to him that five English men-of-war were in sight, to the southward. He hastily took his departure, and accompanied by the Governor and all his men, proceeded to the beach; where, after bidding farewell to his host, he stepped into the boat in which he had come ashore. The Governor watched its progress until it had conveyed M. de la Bourdonnais on board. He then left the beach, and returned to the fort. By 2 o'clock, M. de la Bourdonnais had reached his ship, and cleared for action.

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Final settlement of French claims.

Departure of the fleet to meet the English.

From the time that the French Admiral started to come ashore, until about two Indian hours after he returned to his ship, the booming of the guns was incessant. The number of rounds fired was beyond calculation. These were the events of 5th Âvaṇi [17th August].

At sunrise the next day, that is, Thursday, 6th Âvaṇi [18th August], the fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais set sail. Before, however starting to attack the enemy, he sent a catamaran to convey a despatch to Pondichery, which arrived on the evening of Friday, 7th Âvaṇi [19th August]."

Such was the information given me by M.

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As M. Mathieu concludes they are informed of report of capture of four English ships.

Mathieu, the Governor's accountant. Just then, Vâsudêva Paṇḍit arrived and said that a report was current in the town that M. de la Bourdonnais had captured four English ships.

Sunday, 21st August 1746, or 9th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—At 10 this morning, I heard the following news. Certain English men-of-war were sighted by the French on Wednesday, 4th* Âvaṇi [17th August]. Night being at hand, they waited for the morning to engage the enemy. When the day dawned, however, no English ships were to be seen. The French cruised about until they fell in with the enemy. This, as told me by M. Mathieu, the Governor's head accountant, was the news so far received by the Governor.

News that the fleets met.

Governor sends for diarist and inquires how manufacture of arrack progresses.

To-day at 10, the Governor summoned me, and asked what progress had been made with regard to the arrack. I replied: "The distillation goes on apace. We have not enough of jaggery here. I have consequently written to Cuddalore, and will obtain a supply from there. I am only telling you this by way of information." He thereupon said: "Is it not procurable here?" I replied: "No. I have sent an indent for it to Cuddalore and the neighbouring villages, and will get the required quantity."

Asks what son-in-law of Husain Sâhib said regarding certain interest due.

He then said: "What has the son-in-law of Husain Ṣâḥib told you about the interest payable on the money borrowed from the latter?" My

* *Sic* in original; 5th is the correct date.

answer was: "He stated that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, to whom he had written, had refused, on the ground that he had incurred very heavy losses at Vâlikoṇḍâpuram, to consent to the reduction or relinquishment of it." The Governor replied: "In that case, let them return my promissory note, and receive the pagodas due to them." I said: "Very good," and had gone as far as the gate, when he again sent for me, and said: "Take up that piece of paper and calculate the interest on 10,000 pagodas at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum, from 13th October 1742." I answered: "The period, up to date, is three years, ten months, and ten days, and the interest comes to 3,088 pagodas, 21 fanams, and 21 cash." On this he said: "The principal and interest, then, amount to 13,088 pagodas, 21 fanams, and 21 cash. Go to those men, look up their accounts, and tell them to send one of their people hither with my bond."

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Diarist calculates his.

Governor desires him to bid the parties send their bond.

When, in accordance with these instructions, I repaired to the son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, he burst out in a fury, on account of my having once before deputed Madanânda Paṇḍit to treat with him in connection with the reduction of interest, and reviled the Governor in the following terms: "Your Governor misappropriates the property of others. Is this money also to be dealt with like that of Suga Sing, and Kaẓim K͟hân? Ḥusain Ṣâḥib is a man who would risk a lakh of pagodas in the hope of getting a profit of a single cash. Who is this Madanânda Paṇḍit? He was a man in the

He proceeds to do so.

Son-in-law of Husain Sahib speaks abusively of Governor.

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employ of our servant Ratnâji Paṇḍit on a salary of four rupees. Is he the proper person to send to us? Am I to be considered on a par with that low fellow? I communicated this to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and he has instructed me to return, unless the principal and interest are paid in full." He babbled on in this style, as an ill-bred man would do, said that unless the amount was paid in full, he would go away, and remarked in conclusion that I was the son of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, as well as he.

And threatens to leave unless payment in full is made.

Being convinced that even one word of what the son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib had said would create a serious disturbance between him and the Governor, believing that I might afterwards be accused of want of diplomacy if I did not settle the business amicably—Ḥusain Ṣâḥib being a man of consequence —, and considering that although the latter was hardly of any service to the Company, I ought not to be instrumental in bringing about a rupture of the long-subsisting friendship between them, I returned to the Governor, and said as follows: "Ḥusain Ṣâḥib very much regrets that in his present circumstances he is unable to oblige you, for his lands at Vâlikoṇḍâpuram have entailed on him much loss, and he is being put to great expense on that account. Was it not so, this not being such an important matter to him, or to you, he would gladly meet your wishes. He is said to have written a letter to the foregoing effect to Asad Ṣâḥib who has, with sorrow, communicated the same to me." For

Diplomatic conduct of diarist with regard to Governor.

eight days, I made a point of impressing daily on the Governor the miserable condition of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's treasury, in view to make him regard the payment of interest with equanimity. This was like making up a heavy load with small quantities of cotton. At length he exclaimed: "Since Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, also, is in an impecunious condition, what is the use of troubling him? I will pay the interest due. Tell him to bring the promissory note."

CHAP. XXIV. — 1746. Whom he, by representation of poverty of Husain Sahib, induces to pay interest due.

Upon this I went to Asad Ṣâḥib, and told him that the Governor had expressed his willingness to liquidate the debt with interest, and that he desired him to send some persons to bring the bond, and receive the money. He then began to compliment me saying: "This is why I sought your help to obtain an adjustment. You take a real interest in Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's property." I replied to him with four times the courtesy that he had displayed, remarking that as I was his servant his compliments were unnecessary, and added: "Please calculate the interest due." He at first took a wrong date, which caused a delay of two Indian hours. He then discovered the correct one, from which it appeared that the period actually covered by the transaction was three years and ten months. The interest payable on 10,000 pagodas was consequently reckoned to be pagodas 3,066, and fanams 16. He despatched a messenger to Tarwâḍi, the agent of Bukkanji, asking him to come, but the latter sent the Kômuṭṭi employed under him. Asad Ṣâḥib then went to

Complimentary language of Asad Sahib on hearing this.

Amount payable finally calculated.

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And bond sent with certain persons to Governor's house.

Objection taken to receiving payment in Pondichery pagodas.

Muhammad 'Alî, an inmate of Badê Sâhib's house, told him not less than four times what the amount recoverable was, handed to him the promissory note executed by the Governor, and sent him and four or five others, with me. In the meanwhile, Madanânda Pandit was summoned, and directed to examine the accounts. Asad Sâhib then objected to Pondichery crescent pagodas being taken in lieu of Madras star pagodas, as the latter were of higher value, and stated that they had paid in star pagodas. I then pointed out that when the bond was originally drawn up, this point had been raised, and that it was expressly mentioned in it that the money would be repaid in Pondichery crescent pagodas. I asked, rather sharply, how he dared to say that the Pondichery pagodas were below eight touches in fineness. Some hot words then passed between us, and I exclaimed: "If you talk like this, the consequences will be serious. On a previous occasion, also, you spoke rudely. To obviate any discord, I refrained from communicating all this to the Governor, made a suitable representation to him, and succeeded in bringing the matter to a termination in your favour. Another man would have acted differently, and would have brought about a rupture. When the Governor applied to you to relinquish the interest, your business was only to say that you could not do so, and to receive the full amount. You were not justified in doing more than that. If your master questions you as to why you acted as you have, what answer

Diarist rebukes objector.

can you give? He is the ruler there. You are regardless of what you say, and the consequences may be unpleasant." This speech frightened him, and he said: "Very well, I will take the Pondichery pagodas, but can you not kindly arrange to give us their equivalent in the form of rupees of the local currency." I replied that this was not practicable. He then sent his servants to receive and take away the money.

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Matter settled amicably.

I presented myself before the Governor, and intimated to him that they had brought the bond. Upon this he placed on the table 88 pagodas over and above the round sum of 13,000 pagodas which had to be paid. I then informed him that the interest was, in point of fact, calculated for three years and ten months, and that he therefore owed only 66 pagodas. Although, when speaking, he said that this signified little, he handed to me only 13,066 pagodas. Receiving this amount, I told him that I would deliver it to the men who were in the reception-room, and bring back his promissory note. The wrath which my words excited in him is indescribable, and he exclaimed that they were rascals and that, unless the note was restored to him, the pagodas should not be touched. On this, I repaired to those who were waiting, and asked them for the document, promising to bring the money. They however refused to part with it. Telling them that I would be personally responsible for it, I, after a deal of haggling, obtained the paper

Governor produces the amount originally calculated.

But on the error being pointed out pays correct amount.

His wrath at proposal to deliver bond after payment of claim.

Diarist obtains and makes it over to him.

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He then allows the money to be removed.

from them, and made it over to the Governor, who thereupon permitted me to take charge of thirteen bags of pagodas bearing the seal of the cashier, and 66 pagodas in addition.

Diarist hands it over and rebukes the messengers.

I handed the money to the men, and said: "You refused to trust me, as though it was a Nicobar * bargain. You have now received your money. You may go." They replied: "Please send one of your people to count and deliver the amount." To this I replied: "A request such as this will surely provoke the Governor. So long as you see the seal of the cashier, there can be no mistake. You may rest assured of that." But as they would not listen to me, I promised to send a man, and bade them begone. I accordingly directed the Company's cashier to accompany them, and do what was necessary. I then reported to the Governor that they had expressed their intention of departing. He remained silent, and did not open his mouth. On my continuing to stand before him, he made a gesture with his hand, signifying that they might leave. I concluded that their refusal to remit any portion of the interest was the cause of his frowns and anger, and perceiving that as long as he was in this mood no reply could be expected from him, I made my obeisance, and retired. The Chetti cashier, whose nose is deformed, then went to Asad Sâhib, counted

Cashier sent to count and make the money over.

Governor continues in an angry mood.

Cashier reports that payment has been made.

* The meaning of this expression is dealing with money in one hand, and goods in the other, *i.e.*, a transaction in which neither party trusts the other.

and made over to him 13,066 pagodas, and advised me that he had done so.

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Considerable dispute arose in the course of this transaction. I have, during the last ten days, concisely noted such of the leading points of it as may be of use for future reference.

Drunken officer of the guard causes guns to be fired.

On the night of this day, M. Kerjeanville, a military captain, who had drunk too much brandy, happening to hear the report of the gun fired at 9 o'clock, loaded two of the cannon at the Villiyanallûr gate, where he was stationed, and discharged them. One of the shot hit a tree beyond Ellappanchâvaḍi, and knocked it down, whilst the other buried itself deep into the ground. He then ordered that the alarm-drums should be beaten. After this had been done, he directed that ten or fifteen muskets should be loaded with ball. When the sergeant at the gate remonstrated regarding this, the captain attempted to stab him. On the soldiers refusing to discharge their muskets, he beat them with his cane. When the Governor heard the noise, he instructed M. Duquesne to seize the captain, and consign him to custody in the fort. This was done, and a sentinel was placed on guard over him. Different versions were given of the origin of this affair. Some said that the guns were the signal for an expedition against either Madras, or Fort St. David, some declared that the soldiers and Mahé sepoys had marched past Villiyanallûr, and others asserted that the ships of M. de la Bourdonnais in the roads

Creates a false alarm, and is violent to his men.

Seized and imprisoned by order of Governor.

Varying inferences as to why guns were fired.

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here would set sail as soon as they heard the sound of the cannon, and a body of troops would proceed by land, to make a joint attack.

overnor calls on diarist to supply twenty horses.

Tuesday, 23rd August 1746, or 11th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—At 5 this evening, the Governor sent for me, and gave directions to provide twenty horses. News was now brought that M. de la Bourdonnais' fleet of eight ships was in sight, and approaching Pondichery. I went to my house, summoned Krimâsi Paṇḍit, Periyaṇṇa Nayinâr, and a few police peons, and sent them to collect horses. By 9, they brought twelve, which they had obtained in the town. Including two of my own, the total number collected was fourteen. At 9 precisely, I sent the animals away to the Governor's stables. Some time afterwards, a Company's peon came, and informed me that the Governor required my presence. I immediately dressed, and went to see him. The son of Nawâb Chandâ Ṣâhib had sent Râjô Paṇḍit, and a Muhammadan, to complain to the Governor, through Madame Dupleix, that I had obtained his horse by stealth. The Governor turned to me, and asked for explanation. I said: "No horse belonging to Chandâ Ṣâhib's son was ever taken away. I sent clerk Sînappaiyan, and Krimâsi Paṇḍit, to give him my compliments, as well as yours, and ask of him the loan of a few horses. He refused the request. My messengers next begged him to give them at least one horse. He would not. They then came away, without taking any belonging to him. In

Fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais sighted.

Diarist and others collect fourteen horses.

Complaint against diarist of improper seizure of a horse.

Diarist explains matters to the Governor.

the same street there was a mare, owned by a Brâhman. My messengers brought this with them." The Governor was incensed at the complainants, and exclaimed: "These are very worthless people indeed! They possess not the least particle of sense. They do not even remember that we are ever ready to do their bidding. They will not give their own horses; and they come to make complaints touching a Brâhman's mare. I now begin to comprehend their worth. I do not want even the Brâhman's mare." He then, in great wrath, bade them go away.

CHAP. XXIV. — 1746. Who much incensed with the complainants bids them depart.

I took leave of the Governor, and returning home, sent Aruṇâchala Chetti, and a peon, to the Governor's stables, to bring away the Brâhman's mare, as he had ordered the return of the animal. Before Aruṇâchala Chetti reached the stables, however, he heard that the fourteen horses were being put into boats. He hastened towards the sea-gate, but ere he could reach it, he learned that all had been conveyed to the boats, and safely placed in them. Further inquiry elicited the fact that the Brâhman's mare still remained on shore. Aruṇâchala Chetti hurried on in the direction of the sea-gate. The guards there would not let him pass. In the meantime, a party of ten soldiers, armed with muskets, came from a northerly direction, and another party of ten, similarly armed, from a southerly, and commenced striking with the butt-ends of their weapons every one whom they found there. It was as much as Aruṇâchala

And directs return of a mare taken from a Brahman.

Futile attempts to recover the animal.

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Chetti could do to escape their violence. By mixing with the Company's peons who were returning home from the beach, he managed to elude the soldiers. At 10, as I was seated at supper, Aruṇâchala Chetti came to me, and related his adventures. I thereupon sent Krishṇaiyan the son of Subbaiyan of the Fort, and a peon, to M. d'Auteuil, to ask him to release the Brâhman's mare, as the Governor had ordered this to be done.

Diarist sends a message to M. d'Auteuil requesting release of mare.

From half-past 9 to half-past 10, each of the ships that arrived at the anchorage discharged three guns, at intervals of half an hour. One was also fired from the shore. A beacon was lighted on the summit of the clock-tower, and kept burning until daybreak. European sentinels were posted on each road, as far as the Governor's house on the north, the street inhabited by the Europeans on the south, and the church * of the priests on the west; and they were required to keep careful watch. All through the night, stores of every kind were taken out of the fort, and conveyed to the ships.

Military preparations, and posting of sentinels at Pondichery.

Krishṇaiyan the son of Subbaiyan of the Fort went to speak to M. d'Auteuil, but as that gentleman was asleep, he intimated to M. de Bury, his sister's son, that he wished to see him, and that he came from me. M. de Bury said that as M. d'Auteuil was asleep, he must not be disturbed, and asked Krishṇaiyan to tell him what he wanted. He stated

Krishṇaiyan fails to see M. d'Auteuil.

His conversation with M. de Bury.

* This was apparently the church of St. Paul.

that the Governor had directed the return of the Brâhman's mare, and that he was sent by me to communicate the order to M. d'Auteuil. M. de Bury replied that a Tamilian went to the Governor, and asked for the return of one of the horses on the beach, but that the Governor had directed that none should be given up; and he told Krishṇaiyan to communicate this order to me. This he did, and I again sent him to M. de Bury, for I was loth to provoke the anger of the Governor, who had expressly ordered the release of the Brâhman's mare. M. de Bury again replied that the Governor's explicit instructions, delivered on the beach, were to allow none of the horses to go, and that in the event of his asking him anything about the matter he would offer an explanation He requested Krishṇaiyan to tell me that there was really no reason for apprehension that the Governor would be angry. He accordingly delivered this message.

Who refuses to return the mare on the plea that this would be contrary to orders.

Diarist repeats his request.

M. de Bury adheres to his decision.

At half-past 11, Krimâsi Paṇḍit arrived, and gave me the following information. He said: "A peon brought word that the Governor wanted me. I went. At the entrance to the house, there was Major Duquesne, with half-a-dozen soldiers. He asked me if I knew the residence of Kandappan, the interpreter to Madame Dupleix. I said that I did. He then desired me to go with him. I asked him how it was possible for me to do this when I had been sent for by the Governor. Major Duquesne informed me

Krimâsi Paṇḍit visits diarist.

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And informs him of order of Governor to arrest interpreter of Me. Dupleix.

And that this was subsequently cancelled.

that the Governor had communicated to him why I was wanted, and had ordered him to take me and a few soldiers, to the house of Madame Dupleix's interpreter, to search the premises. I consented to go with him, but we had proceeded only a short distance when we were summoned by the Governor, who directed us not to go to Kandappan's house. He then instructed me to take, on the following day, two or three accountants, to the Vazhudâvûr gate, and receive from M. St. Martin instructions as to what I should do. I said that I would, and departed."

Governor speaks to diarist regarding case of Suga Sing.

In the evening, the Governor sent for me, and observed that it was unsatisfactory that Suga Sing's suit had not yet been decided, for letters on the subject were continually arriving from the Nawâb. I replied: "I have come to a decision." The Governor however got angry, and exclaimed: "Do as you like."

Governor takes Krimasi Pandit to task for not attending when summoned.

Wednesday, 24th August 1746, or 12th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—The Governor sent for Krimâsi Paṇḍit, the subordinate chief of the peons, and said to him: "Why did you not attend in obedience to my summons yesterday?" He replied: "Up to 11 last night, I was wandering about in search of horses. After I had taken them to the beach, I reported

He offers explanation.

having done so to Rangappan, and then went home. It was when I was so engaged, that your peons called me. As I was on my way to you, M. Duquesne ordered me to go to M. St. Martin,

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the officer at Vazhudâvûr, and to take with me three accountants. I accordingly went, and remained there from 5 until now. During this time, the peon again called me, and I have come." The Governor, who would not listen to his explanation, was exasperated beyond measure, and took a cane from the hands of a European who was standing by. Seeing this, Krimâsi Paṇḍit slipped off to the doorway, on which the Governor returned the cane to the owner, and paced to and fro in his wrath. Imagining that he was pacified, Krimâsi Paṇḍit stood where he was, but the Governor in his walk up and down, approached him from behind, gave him two kicks, and drove him out, bidding him not to show his face again. He then, with Periyaṇṇa Nayinâr, who was also present, began to move off. The Governor upon this called up the latter, and told him to disperse the towns-people who were thronging the beach, and to see that they did not collect there.

Governor, being exasperated, seizes a cane to beat him but he evades him.

Governor taking him unawares, kicks, and drives him out.

The eight ships comprising M. de la Bourdonnais' fleet came to an anchor in the roads last night. A salute of fifteen guns was fired by only the commanding officer's ship, the *Achille*. M. de la Bourdonnais, who was ill with fever and diarrhœa, wrapped himself up in his dressing gown, covered his head with a cap, and in this costume came ashore. On landing, he was put into a closed palanquin, and conveyed to the house of the Governor who had previously ordered that it should be cleared of every one, and guarded by armed soldiers, who were posted

Fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais arrives.

Being ill, he comes ashore.

Taken to Governor's house.

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Arrangement for his reception made there.

Special guards posted on all sides of the building.

in the streets running to the west and east of the building. Some were also stationed on the northern and southern side of it. These guards were ordered to stop all passengers, and direct them to take a particular route. Further on along this line, at a guard-house, a sentinel was stationed to warn off people going to the beach. Two more were posted at the guard-house in the street leading from the fort to the custom-house, whilst two others kept watch at the southern side of the eastern gate of the fort, and two more at the northern side, to stop any persons who might be going to the beach by way of the custom-house, and prevent their looking out on the sea at what could be seen there.

He visits the Governor.

The palanquin carrying M. de la Bourdonnais was brought to the residence of the Governor, into whose presence he was, on alighting, supported by two men, one on either side. The Governor came forward to meet him, embraced him, and took him into a room, where they had a conference, in which M. Paradis took part. M. de la Bourdonnais, it is reported, recounted all the incidents of his voyage, describing how he had arrived at Negapatam, how he had been treated with distinguished honour by the Dutch authorities, who had undertaken to repay the value of the French ships which they had bought of the English, viz., the Manilla ship *Maure*, and the *Charles*, which M. de la Villebague had brought from Manilla to Mergui, how some English ships were sighted by his fleet and took to

Confers with him and M. Paradis.

Relates the particulars of his recent cruise.

flight when he prepared for action, and how he had fallen ill. He next spoke with regard to the plans for an attack on Madras. Taking his departure, he proceeded in the closed palanquin to his old quarters at M. Desjardins' house, where, so it is said, he was bled in the arm by the surgeons of the town and his ship. In the evening, M. de la Bourdonnais, still wrapped in his dressing gown, set out for a drive, accompanied by the two medical men.

Proceeds to M. Desjardins' house where he remains.

Two Indian hours before daybreak this morning, the gates of the town were closed; viz., the Madras gate on the northern side, the sea-gate on the eastern, and the Villiyanallûr and Cuddalore gates. The great doors of the Vazhudâvûr gate were shut, but the little wicket was left open. According to the instructions conveyed last night to the subordinate chief of the peons Krimâsi Paṇḍit, two or three accountants were stationed at the wicket, to search every one passing through it. The palmyra-leaf letters which the passengers had about them were taken from them, perused, and returned. If they had with them papers written in the Persian, Mahratti, Telugu, or French characters, they were seized, and retained; the letters written in Tamil alone being read. This inspection went on until midday. Then the work was discontinued, as it was found that the letters and palmyra leaves which had accumulated were useless. The gates, including the great doors of that of Vazhudâvûr, were thereupon all opened.

Closing of all the main gates except wicket in one.

Letters with those passing through this examined.

Nothing inculpatory being found, gates re-opened.

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1746.

Diarist believes object of action taken to be seizure of clandestine letters to English.

The measures which I have mentioned appear to have been taken owing to a report which reached the Governor that letters written in Tamil were being clandestinely sent from Pondichery to the English. It will be remembered that last night the Governor first ordered the house of Kandappan, who is in the service of Madame Dupleix, to be searched, and then put a stop to this being done; and it was after this that directions were given that all the gates of the town should be closed, with the exception of the wicket in the Vazhudâvûr gate, where everyone passing through was searched. Taking these facts into consideration, it would seem that an anonymous communication must have been sent to the Governor, accusing Kandappan of being the clandestine correspondent of the English; and as, when the other gates were kept shut, every letter going out of Pondichery must necessarily pass through the Vazhudâvûr gate, it was thought that if all persons going through it were searched, the correspondence would be secured. If such was not the object of M. Dupleix, God alone knows what it was.

Infers that interpreter of Me. Dupleix must be the person suspected.

To-morrow, being the anniversary of the birthday of the King, the Governor went this evening to the fort, paraded the soldiers, and ordered three volleys to be fired. The guns mounted on the ramparts of the fort were discharged, and these were followed by those on the town walls. The ships replied, each firing twenty-one guns at one and

Firing of salutes on King's birthday.

the same time. The whole town shook with the concussion. To people at a distance, it must have appeared as though the place was being bombarded. The effect was exceedingly grand, and infinitely awe-inspiring.

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Salutes on the day itself.

Thursday, 25th August 1746, or 13th Âvani of Akshaya.—This was the King's birthday, and consequently three volleys were fired at 5 this morning, and a salute of twenty-one guns was discharged from the fort, which was replied to by a broadside of a similar number from each ship in the roads. Again, at half-past 7, when the Governor attended service at the church in the fort, three volleys were fired, and three salutes, each of twenty-one guns, were discharged from the fort, and by each ship in the anchorage. The total number of guns fired on this occasion would be about a thousand. The salute was repeated when the Governor returned home, and when he dined. At the time that he drank wine, he shouted, taking off his hat, "Long live the King," a toast which was repeated with one voice by all those present, and was honoured with twenty-one guns from the fort, and a similar number from each of the ten or twelve ships in the roadstead—all fired together. The cannon which were fired from the ramparts of the fort, and from the ship of the admiral, being heavy guns, carrying a shot of twenty-four pounds, those who heard their thundering sound were struck with terror.

Drinking of the King's health by Governor and guests.

Terror caused by firing of heavy guns.

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1746.

M. de la Villebague receives list of goods ordered from diarist.

This morning at 10, M. de la Villebague sent for me, received a list of the goods that had been ordered to be manufactured for his brother, and handed me 10,000 rupees. The details of the list will be found noted in the register in which the orders for the manufacture of cloths are entered.

Council discusses plans of attack on Madras.

At the same hour, a Council was held. It seems that at it plans for an attack on Madras were discussed.

Performance of vernacular ode in honour of diarist.

A metrical ode in Telugu, composed in my honour by Kastûri Rangaiyan, a great scholar of Trichinopoly, was set to music by Trichinopoly Mangapati Aiyan; dancing women were taught to sing it, and they gave a performance of it this night at the garden-house of Muttaiya Piḷḷai in Sêḍai Street before a public assembly consisting of my friends and others.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM AUGUST 26TH, 1746, TO SEPTEMBER 2ND, 1746.

Madame Albert speaks to diarist regarding a certain loan—Pays portion of principal and interest—Warns diarist not to pay money without receipt—Council discusses plans for siege of Madras—Embarkation of troops, etc.—Why mounted men were sent—M. d'Auteuil deputed to declare war if certain demands not complied with—Expedition delayed by illness of M. de la Bourdonnais—Object of sending body guard with M. Auteuil to belittle M. de la Bourdonnais—Who being aware of this, pleads illness—And objects to another taking his place—Relanding of troops ordered—Letter from Governor to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân requests help in attacking Madras—Troops disembarked—M. de la Bourdonnais declines to attend meeting of Council—Deputation from Council waits on him—On return of this, sitting resumed—Result kept secret, but war certain—Dubâsh of Madame Dupleix brings samples of coral, and states that she wishes to purchase some—Requests private interview—This accorded—He recounts the efforts made by one Annapûrṇa Aiyan to obtain chief dubâshship—And what took place at an interview which he had with Madame Dupleix on the subject—Informs diarist that Annapûrṇa Aiyan stated that he had applied for the post, on his (diarist's) advice,—Diarist explains matter—And states that he agreed to lend Annapûrṇa Aiyan 2,000 pagodas if he obtained the appointment—The dubâsh mentions other statements and requests made by this man—And abusive language of Chinna Mudali on hearing of these—As also allegation of Annapûrṇa Aiyan touching diarist's brother—Reply of diarist—Conversation which the dubâsh had with Madame Dupleix touching the financial affairs of diarist and his brother—She bids him ask a bribe on her account from Chinna Mudali, which is refused—Her further conversation with the dubâsh regarding affairs of diarist—He states when and where it took place—Begs diarist not to mention what he has said—Remarks with regard to character, etc., of the dubâsh and Annapûrṇa Aiyan—And the intellectual superiority, as compared with them, of Madame Dupleix—M. de la Bourdonnais goes to Ozhukarai for change of air—Departure of squadron—Object of this—Diarist meets M. Desmarêts—Who explains to him why the expedition against Madras was abandoned—He details a conversation between MM. Dupleix and de la Bourdonnais—And refers to the difference regarding the order of Council demanded by the latter—His refusal to assent to the appointment of M. Paradis in his stead—And the personal quarrel between him, and the

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Governor—M. Desmarêts expresses the opinion that M. de la Bourdonnais was not bound to follow the advice of the Council, or obey the Governor—Assigns this as the reason of the failure of the project against Madras—M. de Kerjean, meeting diarist, assures him of the certainty of his being appointed courtier—His reply when diarist asks what the priests of St. Paul would say to this—Departure of Madame Dupleix for Ariyânkuppam—Diarist purchases broad-cloth on Governor's account—Dispute with M. Cornet as to how cost of this is to be adjusted—Remarks on the matter—An ex-agent of diarist approaches him through his brother, in view to restoration—Remarks of diarist on his conduct—Determines to have nothing more to do with him—Letter from Mylapore to Chinna Mudali details attack of the French on ships lying off Madras—And their retirement after brief engagement—Describes to diarist anger of Governor when letter read to him—Governor on the way to Ozhukarai passes diarist's distillery—Chinna Mudali meets him—And is sent to direct diarist to dispose of a certain suit—Conversation on this subject—Surmise of diarist as to object of Governor's visit to M. de la Bourdonnais—Governor, on return, sends for MM. Paradis and Barthélemy—And giving contradictory orders regarding conveyances, grows angry at delay in complying with them—Finally departs to join his wife at Ariyânkuppam—Diarist sends contribution towards expenses of marriage of a relative—Some broad-cloth in store at the fort found to be damaged—Stock in hand disposed of—Details of this transaction—Letter from M. de la Bourdonnais to M. de Fontbrune—Intimates capture off Covelong of two English ships—And gives particulars of cargoes—Excitement on receipt of this news—Ships reported to belong to Messrs. Morse and Monson—Governor, with M. Paradis, again visits M. de la Bourdonnais—M. de Louche captures an English ship—Contrary to advice, starts on a cruise in his prize—Is taken by English, and carried a prisoner to Madras.

Me. Albert speaks to diarist regarding certain loan.

Friday, 26th August 1746, or 14th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—Madame Albert * sent for me and said: "The year before the last, when the *Neptune* sailed for Mocha, you let me have the sum of Rs. 1,000 on condition of my paying a premium on it, and I made it over to M. d'Auteuil. He has to pay 18 per cent. premium, and another 10 per cent., being the special charge for monsoon risks. This gives you

* The mother of Madame Dupleix.

Rs. 280. Adding Rs. 57 which the Company has allowed in the shape of interest, you therefore have to receive, over and above the principal of Rs. 1,000, a profit of 337, being the interest, etc., due on it. Of this sum, he gave me 837 rupees, and promised to pay the remaining 500 in a few days. Please therefore receive Rs. 837 now. For the balance I will give you a promissory note stipulating to pay the interest usually leviable in the case of land traffic." Accepting her proposal, I took the Rs. 837, and asked for the promissory note. She replied: "I will send it to you afterwards by my peon. You trusted me with the 1,000 rupees without demanding any voucher for it from me. I told this to all my daughters lest you might lose the money should I unexpectedly die." Thanking her in very courteous terms, I talked for a while with her on general topics, and departed, desiring her peon to bring me the promissory note which she had promised to send. When I took leave of her, she told me to in future not part with my money to any one without receiving a written acknowledgment. I replied: "I will do so."

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And amount in the way of premium, interest, etc., due thereon.

Pays him a portion of principal and interest, promising note of hand for balance.

Warns diarist not to lend money without a receipt.

A Council was held this forenoon, and again in the afternoon. It would appear that plans for laying siege to Madras were discussed at it. Attacking it will be no light task, and it seems that the project was carefully considered in Council.

Council discusses plans for siege of Madras.

On the 11th instant [23rd August], as soon as the French ships appeared in sight, the horses were

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Rapid embarkation of horses, men and stores.

secretly put into boats for conveyance on board. The whole of that night was taken up with embarking troopers, men, and stores. The next day, also, was devoted to similar work. Up to that evening, the Muhammadans of Mahé, and others were being expeditiously shipped. Then a lull took place in the work, owing, so it was reported at the time, to the illness of M. de la Bourdonnais. It may be asked why troopers and horses should be required for an expedition against Madras. They are to be landed at Mylapore near Madras, whence M. d'Auteuil will march to Fort St. George escorted by a mounted body-guard consisting of twenty-four men, and attended by a few soldiers and Mahé sepoys, all marching under arms in military array. He is then to demand of the Governor of Fort St. George the restitution of the Manilla ship, and of that belonging to the French seized at Acheen by the English. Failing the restoration of these, he is to declare war. It is because fortune is still favouring Madras, that the preparations for attacking it have now been delayed. Owing to his illness, M. de la Bourdonnais is incapacitated from directing the attack in person; and he will not consent to delegate his authority to another.

A lull owing to illness of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Why mounted men were sent to Madras.

M. d'Auteuil to declare war with English if certain ships seized by them not restored.

Attack on Madras delayed by illness of M. de la Bourdonnais.

The object of the Governor in detailing a body-guard to escort M. d'Auteuil is to put down M. de la Bourdonnais, who has placed himself on a footing of equality with him, by maintaining a similar guard of twenty-four troopers. In his opinion this will

Object of sending body-guard with M. d'Auteuil to belittling M. de la Bourdonnais.

serve as a tacit announcement that the position which M. de la Bourdonnais has assumed is no more exalted than that which has been assigned to M. d'Auteuil, when on his way from Mylapore to Madras. M. Dupleix imagines that the motive which has actuated him to do this is unknown to others, but in this belief he is mistaken. M. de la Bourdonnais understands it well enough, and to revenge himself for the intended slight, not only pleads illness as an excuse for not setting out on the expedition, on which the Governor has strongly set his heart, but will not consent to any other person being appointed in his stead. Thus it is clear that the projects of man will go astray, unless Providence favours them. It is needless to say that without God's help man cannot succeed in his endeavours. The projected expedition against Madras is now in abeyance. It is not possible to conjecture the future. It is as God may direct. Man's plans are as naught.

Who being aware of this, makes illness a plea for delay.

And objects to another taking his place.

Remarks on the subject.

The Governor has ordered the disembarkation to-morrow morning of the sepoys and horses.

Relanding of troops, etc., ordered.

Yesterday, a letter was despatched to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. The contents were a secret between the Governor, M. Delarche, and Madanânda Pandit. In it the Governor applied in very polite terms to the Nawâb for help. "You know," wrote he, "that we are advancing against Madras. As, when you came last year to visit us, you promised to help us with men, we ask you to send us 3,000 troopers, to help us in attacking Madras."

Letter sent by Governor to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn.

Requests military help in attacking Madras.

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Madanânda Pandit communicated this intelligence to me, to-day.

Sepoys and horses landed.

Saturday, 27th August 1746, or 15th Âvani of Akshaya.—In accordance with the orders of the Governor, the Mahé sepoys, and two native officers, were landed this morning. The horses were all sent on shore, and the troopers also. M. d'Auteuil directed that the animals should be delivered to their owners. An Indian hour afterwards, he countermanded the first order, and ordered that they should be stabled. It would, therefore, appear that the project against Madras is being revived.

Indications of revival of expedition.

Meeting of Council which M. de la Bourdonnais declines to attend.

Immediately afterwards, the Governor convened a meeting of the Council. Two Indian hours subsequent to this, M. de la Bourdonnais was summoned. He sent word that, owing to illness, he could not attend. A deputation of three Councillors, consisting of M. d'Espréménil, M. Barthélemy, and M. Bonneau, was sent to him, with a document. I do not know whether this paper was signed by M. de la Bourdonnais, in token of his having read it or not. The Council continued sitting for three hours after the return of the deputation. At 1 it rose, and the members went home. The proceedings of the Council are at present kept secret; they will however be known in course of time. That there will be war is certain; the details alone have yet to be ascertained. As for myself, I returned home from the arecanut storehouse. Let us await the course of events.

Deputation of Council waits upon him with a paper.

On return of this, sitting resumed.

Result kept secret, but war certain.

The big-bellied Uravu Nârâyaṇan, who is the dubâsh of Madame Dupleix, came to me at my arecanut storehouse, with five or six coral beads, and said: "Madame Dupleix desires to purchase coral of this description, and bade me show these samples to you. She says that she will give such price for it as you may fix." I remarked to him: "This is thin coral, of class C. The value of each bead may be half a pagoda." He then said: "I wish to speak to you in private. Will you, without taking offence, be pleased to lend a ear to my words?" I replied: "Certainly. Tell me what you have to say. Be assured that our friendship is of a cordial character." He then requested me to step aside; and when I had done so, he exclaimed: "I will tell you all that Annapûrṇa Aiyan has done. You must hear me patiently. The matter should not be divulged to others."

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1746.
Dubash of Me. Dupleix visits diarist.

States that Me. Dupleix desires to purchase coral and then requests a private interview.

This accorded.

Premising thus, he continued: "He offered, in the event of the appointment of chief dubâsh being conferred upon him, to pay the Governor 10,000 rupees, and his wife 3,200; and begged me to act as his intermediary. I then asked him if he was acquainted with the nature of the duties of the office. He told me that it was he who had been instructing Kanakarâya Mudali, that all the Muhammadans were his friends, and that he could prevail on them to do his bidding. Believing his statements, I communicated his offer to the Governor's wife. She, however, said that she would manage to secure the appointment for

States that Annapurna Aiyan offered to pay bribes to Governor and wife for appointment of chief dubash.

That Me. Dupleix, on hearing the offer, demanded higher terms.

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him, provided he would pay the Governor 5,000 pagodas and her 1,500. When I acquainted him with these conditions, he agreed to them, but said that he must once communicate with her in person; and that unless he could do this he would not be satisfied. I thereupon conducted him to Madame Dupleix, who told him all that she had to say, bade him bring the money in advance, and informed him that unless the amount was deposited with her, she would not move in the matter. He acquiesced, but said to her: 'There is a rumour afloat that Ranga Piḷḷai will be appointed to the situation. Is there any foundation for this, Madame?' She replied: 'I shall be very glad if he gets it.' He then retired. I followed him, and inquired if his action in this matter was agreeable to you. He informed me that it was you who had advised him to try for the appointment, that you had intimated to him that the Governor owed you 10,000 rupees, and promised that if he brought the remainder, you would speak in person on his behalf. These plausible statements induced me to give heed to him. I interested myself on his account, in the full belief that his application had your approval. Otherwise I would not have done so for all the world. The fool has spread the story throughout the town. Had I known his nature, I would not in any way have meddled in the affair."

Which were agreed to after personal interview with Me. Dupleix.

That A. Aiyan asked her regarding the rumour regarding diarist, but received no definite reply.

That he informed the dubash that he applied for the post on advice of diarist.

And that believing this she (the dubash) had assisted Annapurna Aiyan.

Diarist explains matters

I replied: "When Annapûrṇa Aiyan first sought the appointment, he was anxious that I should have no knowledge of his intentions, and

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consulted Guruvappa Chetti alone, whom he begged to obtain for him from Kangipâti Virâ Chetti a loan of 500 or 1,000 pagodas. He told me privately what Annapûrṇa Aiyan had mentioned to him. It was afterwards that Guruvappa Chetti brought him to me, and made him tell me that through the intervention of Madame Dupleix, it had been decided to confer the post on him, and that if I would only help him on this occasion with 2,000 pagodas, he would ever be guided by my advice. I merely intimated to him then that I would lend him the sum which he required, provided the appointment was given to him. This is all that I know."

And the share which Guruvappa Chetti took in them.

And states that he agreed to lend the man 2,000 pagodas if he obtained the appointment.

He continued: "He further informed me that he had promised to propitiate you with 1,000 rupees, and mentioned several other matters. He seems to have told Madanânda Pandit that he was to get the appointment, and to have requested that Tarwâḍi might be introduced to him, and be told to lend him any sum that he might from time to time require. Madanânda Pandit appears to have communicated this to Chinna Mudali who, it would seem, abused Annapûrṇa Aiyan. He however told me that Chinna Mudali had reviled both him and me. He thus misrepresented facts to the merchants and everyone else, just as pleased him. You know the antecedents of his family. His deeds are in accord with them."

The dubash mentions other statements and requests of Annapurna Aiyan.

Mentions, also, abusive language of Chinna Mudali on hearing of these.

"You don't say so?" I exclaimed.

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And states what Annapurna Aiyan alleged regarding brother of diarist.

He went on to say: "He added that your brother had promised that he would lend him 2,000 rupees, and would endeavour to help him with another 2,000 which the chief of the peons owed him. There was no end to what he has alleged in this fashion; but I beseech you not to make reference to this matter either to Chinna Mudali, or any one else."

Reply of diarist.

I answered: "In this world every man says ten thousand things to further his own interests. Others ought not to concern themselves with his affairs. As long as you are in the service of Madame Dupleix, as her dubâsh, it behoves you to communicate to her faithfully what people ask you to. Why trouble yourself about this?"

The dubash mentions a conversation with Me. Dupleix about diarist.

He remarked: "That is true. You say what is right. Madame Dupleix asked me whether it would not be desirable for her to speak to you about the appointment. I told her that if you had cared for it you would have already offered your services, that a good deal of your fortune which had been invested in foreign trade had been lost, that a subahdar, named Appaiya Pillai, to whom you had lent a very large amount, had died, that in consequence of this with the exception of a sum of pagodas 1,000 or 1,500—but a small fraction of the claim—which through the good offices of the Deputy Governor was realized by the sale of his real estate and personal property, the debt had proved irrecoverable, that the official superior of Appaiya Pillai, who also owed some money, had betaken himself to Arcot, that you had

What he said to her regarding the money matters of diarist.

further lost about a lakh of pagodas in business, and in other ways, that the Governor also knew of some of the losses sustained by you in commercial enterprises across the seas, that your debt to him as well as to the Company was very large indeed, that although your estate was thus all but lost, you did not desist from squandering money on Brâhmans, learned men and others, in the shape of charities and bounties, and that Heaven alone knew whether you actually possess anything or not. She then asked me whether your brother had any money. I replied: 'He has no concern in trade. He takes his meals at home, then goes to his house, which is in this quarter of the town, and attends to his duties at the court. His case is hardly worth consideration.' She then said: 'It seems that a certain Brâhman has arrived, and that Rangappan will receive something from him. Is this true?' I replied: 'I am not aware of it.' She observed: 'I have heard a report to that effect.' She then told me to ask Chinna Mudali if he was willing to propitiate her with a suitable gift in the event of her interesting herself on his behalf. When I informed him of what she had suggested, he exclaimed: 'I do not in the least aspire to the situation. I am too weak to discharge the functions of the office, and I am also incompetent. Besides, my means are small.' So saying, he shed tears and beat his head several times. When I communicated this to the lady, she exclaimed: 'What on earth does this man do?' I replied: 'This is how he

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She asks the financial condition of diarist's brother.

Dubash replies.

Asks if report that diarist will shortly receive some money is true.

Instructs dubash to ask bribe of Chinna Mudali.

This done, and Chinna Mudali pleads incompetence and poverty.

Me. Dupleix on hearing his reply asks what he does.

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The dubash gives an account of his mode of life.

spends the whole of his time; save when he is here. As soon as the sun sets, he goes to every one of his houses, and closes it. He locks up the residence of the late Kanakarâya Mudali, then the house opposite to it; and he afterwards betakes himself to that in front of his own residence, and sits there, brooding in the dark. He has even turned the widow of Kanakarâya Mudali out of her house, and made it a deserted building, unlit by even a lantern.' She exclaimed: 'Indeed?' and then asked 'What has become of all the property of Rangappan.' I said: 'Every one says that you have with you five or ten lakhs of pagodas. Is it true?' She replied: 'It is a lie.' On this I remarked: 'This is the way with common reports. One cannot believe them. The owner alone knows what his property amounts to.'"

She asks what has become of the property of diarist.

The reply of the dubash.

All that he said on this occasion would occupy at least twenty pages. I have however recorded above such points as I considered worthy of note. I asked him when this conversation had taken place. He replied: "Three days ago. Whenever she has anything to say to me in private, it is customary for her to sup that night in her own room, and not at the same table with her husband; and to talk to me then. The conversation accordingly took place when she was at supper, on the fourth day from this." "Indeed?" quoth I. He then added: "I acquainted your brother with what I had heard concerning his alleged promises to Annapûrṇa Aiyan.

In answer to inquiry of diarist, informs him when this conversation took place.

And states course followed by Me. Dupleix when desiring to speak with him.

He replied: 'I really know nothing of the matter. Annapûrṇa Aiyan once begged me to lend him 1,000 rupees. I said that I could not. He then asked me to recover the amount which the chief of the peons owed me, and hand that over to him. I told him to speak to that individual himself.'"

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Dubash continues to talk.

Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai once more made the request that I would not refer to this subject in conversation, either with Chinna Mudali, or before a gathering of three or four persons. I replied: "What is there in it that you should be afraid? You only mention what others have told you. I do not see anything reprehensible in your conduct." He felt happy, and departed pleased with what I had said.

And presses diarist not to refer to it in conversation with anyone.

This man Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai is a native of Tranquebar; very deep and cunning. Peculation is the dominant motive in all his actions. His experience is mostly limited to carrying off the fragments that remain from others' meals, and he has but little knowledge of the functions of a dubâsh; for a man of that class ought to be sagacious enough to see what is feasible, and what not, and what will succeed or fail; he must, too, have some knowledge of character, and be able to distinguish a man of integrity from a rogue, and a deserving from an undeserving person. The wisdom of the attempts of Annapûrṇa Aiyan to secure the appointment, and the value of the services of Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai as dubâsh, are on a par. But who can penetrate the mighty workings of the all-powerful God. It

Remarks with regard to character, etc., of the dubash.

Observations regarding him and Annapurna Aiyan.

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was but meet that Annapûrṇa Aiyan, who aimed at attaining a thing which was beyond his capacity, should have as a go-between an individual of the stamp of Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai, whose profession is to clear the refuse from dishes. But the brains of the wife of the Governor have proved far superior to theirs! It does not behove me to dwell much on this subject. But there is enough to enable the thoughtful to appreciate her character. I therefore refrain from writing more with respect to this matter.

And reference to mental superiority of MeDupleix.

In the afternoon, M. de la Bourdonnais, who was ill with fever and ague, and with whom the sea-breeze and the water here do not agree, went to M. Paradis' gardens at Ozhukarai, in order to obtain a change of air. He will remain there until he recovers. Supplies will be sent to him from this.

M. de la Bourdonnais goes to Ozhukarai for change of air.

Sunday, 28th August 1746, or 16th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—This morning, the eight men-of-war weighed anchor, and set sail. We know that the enterprise against Madras has, for the time being, been abandoned. The object of this expedition is to scour the sea between Madras and Negapatam until the setting in of the monsoon, and attack any English ships that may be sighted. The fleet will then, it appears, sail for Mascareigne. I have written what rumour says.

Departure of the squadron.

Object with which it set sail.

Monday, 29th August 1746, or 17th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—This morning I was on my way to the Governor's house to inform him of the particulars of Suga Sing's suit, when I encountered M. Desmarêts.

Diarist meets M. Desmarêts.

He saluted me, and asked where the people who had come from the interior to buy clocks were. I replied that they had gone to Vellore, and that I would let him know as soon as I heard from them.

Who asks him if he knows why expedition against Madras was abandoned and then proceeds to explain.

He next inquired if I knew why the expedition against Madras had been abandoned. I answered that I was not acquainted with the full particulars of the matter. Upon this he said: "Then, hear me. The Governor, as you know, had so arranged matters that the ships should arrive at Pondichery during the night, take on board all that was necessary, and then proceed to Madras, which was to be attacked by both sea and land. When M. de la Bourdonnais was asked to set sail by night, he refused, on the plea of illness, and said that he wished to consult the Governor on certain points. He accordingly landed, and proceeded in a closed palanquin to the Governor's house. The following conversation ensued between them. The Governor asked why the expedition against Madras had been delayed. M. de la Bourdonnais replied: 'The orders which I have received from the Company, and from the Government, are that I should attack the English ships wherever I might fall in with them at sea. My instructions do not extend to fighting on shore. I therefore cannot undertake a land attack. If you desire me to do so, I will; but I must first have the written order of your Council to that effect.' 'Was it not at your desire, expressed in writing,' the Governor exclaimed, 'that I made

Gives details of conversation between Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais.

Latter refuses to make a land attack without written order of Council.

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all these preparations for the expedition? I cannot understand why you now demand the Council's orders.' High words then ensued between them. The Councillors were next summoned, but they declined all responsibility, stating that the Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais had not consulted them when they first planned the undertaking. The whole amount expended up to the present on this may, perhaps, have to be borne by the Governor himself. It is not known how it will end. M. Dupleix tried very hard to have M. Paradis appointed commander, in the place of M. de la Bourdonnais, who is now ill; but the latter would not assent to this. Hot words have, it appears, passed between Madame de la Bourdonnais, and Madame d'Auteuil; and these mutual recriminations have been made the subject of quarrel between M. Dupleix and M. de la Bourdonnais who openly fell out in the Council, and abused each other freely. As fortune has not yet deserted Madras, the difference between these two has helped to save it for the present."

Which being summoned refuses to assume any responsibility.

M. de la Bourdonnais refuses to assent to appointment of M. Paradis in his stead.

Quarrel in Council between him and Governor.

I asked M. Desmarêts whether the orders given to M. de la Bourdonnais did not bind him to follow the advice of the Council at Pondichery. M. Desmarêts replied: "The Government have given M. de la Bourdonnais discretionary power in the conduct of the war, and have directed M. Dupleix to provide him with all the supplies required by him. Hence, M. Dupleix has no authority to direct his movements, and the plans of the Governor to capture Madras

Diarist asks if former was not bound to follow the advice of the Council.

M. Desmarêts replies in negative, and that M. Dupleix has no authority over him.

have fallen through. If the English at Madras should now provoke the outbreak of war, the French will of course proceed to attack it, but as matters stand, the project of M. Dupleix to seize Madras, and become its Governor, must end in failure. The seven ships which arrived from France have sailed for Bombay, to operate against it."

Chap. XXV. — 1746. And remarks that the project against Madras has consequently collapsed.

After M. Desmarêts left me, I went to the Governor's house, where I was met at the gate by his nephew, M. de Kerjean, who saluted me very courteously, and said: "Rangappa, when will the Governor appoint you courtier?" I replied: "I know nothing about it. The whole town, however, talks about my appointment. The Governor, himself, remains reticent on the subject. You have mentioned it to me on many previous occasions." He answered: "When the contract is offered to you, you will first be appointed courtier." "How do you know this?" I asked him. He replied: "I was talking to M. Legou yesterday. I asked him why the post of Company's courtier was not filled up and, at the same time, observed that it was highly desirable that it should be. He replied that a man of capacity could not be found for the place. I asked him how the work of the Company was to fare in the meanwhile. He answered that there undoubtedly existed a man fit for the office, and that he would appear at the proper time. I inquired of him whether a better man than yourself could be found. He said that there was none. I then asked

Alleges that fleet has sailed to attack Bombay.

Diarist meets M. de Kerjean who asks when he is to be appointed courtier.

M. de Kerjean details conversation with M. Legou.

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And assures diarist that he will be appointed.

him if you would be appointed. On this he remarked that it was the likeliest thing to happen." "Now," continued M. de Kerjean, "the seven ships fitted out for the expedition against Bombay will attack it on St. Louis' day, and return to Pondichery fifteen days hence. When they arrive, the contract will be offered to you, and you will also be made courtier." I asked him whether the priests of the church of St. Paul would agree to the appointment of a Tamilian. He replied: "In what way does it concern them? Their words are exactly like the cackling of ducks in a pond. I do not comprehend the value which you attach to their influence. These are not the days of yore." Having thus spoken, he saluted me, and departed.

Remarks of M. de Kerjean on diarist's asking what the priests of St. Paul would say to this.

Diarist pays his respects to Governor and waits outside.

I went to the courtyard where the Governor was, and having paid my respects, stepped out into the verandah where a sentinel stood guard, and, taking a seat there, was engaged in conversation with Chinna Mudali. The Governor then sent for me, and I now proceed to relate in detail what passed between him and me.

Is later on called in.

He walked forward as far as the sentinel's post, and addressing me as "Ranga Piḷḷai," said: . . . *

Departure of Madame Dupleix for Ariyankuppam.

Wednesday, 31st August 1746, or 19th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—This morning at half-past 6, Madame Dupleix, accompanied by the usual music of tom-

* Blank in the original. What it was intended to record must have been something long, as there are 6½ blank pages.

toms and cymbals, set out for Ariyânkuppam to attend the festival. She has gone there with the object of staying for the nine days during which it lasts. She was escorted by the chief of the peons, and fifty sepoys. The former has returned, but the latter remain in attendance on her.

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This evening at 6, I purchased at the fort, from M. Cornet, ninety-five bales of inferior broad-cloth called "second sort, fine," each bale consisting of ten rolls; five of which were red, and the others green. I caused the transaction to be entered against the Governor, and promised to adjust payment for the same in my accounts with him. Yesterday, also, I bought a bale. The aggregate number of yards in these 960 rolls was 15,381$\frac{3}{4}$ which, at the rate of a pagoda and-a-quarter a yard, amounted in value to pagodas (19,227, fanams 4 and cash 32) nineteen-thousand two hundred, and twenty-seven, and fanams four and-a-half. At the instance of M. Cornet, I handed a note to him acknowledging receipt of goods to the value mentioned above, and stipulating to pay the money within six months, at the exchange of Rs. 320 for 100 pagodas. But as I have to make good this debt to the Governor, it was neither necessary for me to write the note to M. Cornet, nor need he have made an entry against me in the accounts. A receipt from me of this kind was unnecessary, as the Governor has taken the broad-cloth from the Company; and as he has lent money to it, he debits the value against the interest

Diarist purchases broad-cloth for the Governor.

Value of this.

M. Cornet requires a receipt from diarist and promises to pay in six months.

Remark on this subject.

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on his loan, allowing it to be deducted at the rate of 1 per cent. for six months upon the amount. M. Cornet has to charge the bill to the Governor, and must therefore make over the acknowledgment to him. He may possibly bid M. Cornet transfer it to me, and inform him at the same time that he will adjust the debt with me in my accounts. In this case, the receipt will be returned to me. At all events, it is clear that M. Cornet will not retain it.

What M. Cornet might have done.

What he might have done was to obtain and hand over to the Governor, in my handwriting, a list of the different kinds of broad-cloth delivered to me, the number of bales and rolls of which it was composed, and the total number of yards which they contained. This would be of service when the Governor and I came to adjust accounts, as it would be a voucher showing how much was delivered to me on his behalf. The receipt should have been couched in these terms. M. Cornet having, on the other hand, made out one in his own name, the effect of it is doubtful. I have therefore recorded this transaction in detail.

Reasons why diarist has written in detail on this matter.

The acknowledgment which I have now furnished to M. Cornet, and any other that I may hereafter be required to give in supersession of that existing, will be found copied in the register in which my letters to Europeans are recorded.

As I have employed Pâpi Chetti and Muttaiya Pillai as my agents in the trading transactions which I used to carry on through Ariyappa Mudali, the

latter has for the last six or seven days been treating with my brother regarding the matter, and soliciting his intervention. He consequently sent word to me through Gôpâlaswâmi, and Sîtârâma Sâstri the astrologer from the south, representing that it would be well to transact business through the medium of Ariyappa Mudali, and that he would attend to the concern jointly with him; just as though he would retire to the banks of the Cauvery in the brown garb of a monk if matters were not so arranged. I sent, couched in conciliatory language, a suitable reply, to the effect that I would again avail myself of the agency of Ariyappa Mudali, after his accounts had been settled. He owes his position entirely to me: I caused him to be regarded as a person of consequence. In return for my services, he has treated me ill. Although conscious of this, he has had no compunction in addressing me through my brother, with a view to regaining my friendship, and restoration to his former position. If it be true that such a being as God exists in this world, He will visit him with adequate punishment for his treachery. For my part, I am determined not to have any more of his friendship, or to take him as my associate in trade; though I cannot vouch for what may happen in my next birth. This is my present resolution. But what the divine will may be, I cannot say.

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The reply made.

Remarks of diarist upon conduct, etc., of Ariyappa Mudali.

He determines to have nothing more to do with him.

Thursday, 1st September 1746, or 20th Âvani of Akshaya.—Chinna Mudali came to me this morning,

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Chinna Mudali intimates receipt of a letter from Mylapore which he translated to Governor.

and communicated the following information. Maduranâyagam, the pastor of the church of St. Paul at Mylapore, sent a letter on palmyra leaf to him, which he yesterday interpreted to the Governor. The contents were as follows. The eight ships of war which sailed from Pondichery arrived at Madras last Monday, at 8 in the morning, and fired a broadside at a country sloop and an English ship which were lying in the roadstead. Thereupon the artillery in the fort and the guns of two ships were turned upon them. The firing was continued until 10, when the squadron moved off to Mylapore, then put to sea, and disappeared from sight.*

It reports attack by French squadron on shipping at Madras.

And its subsequent retirement.

Twenty-five of those on board the ships lying in the roads were killed in the action, and their bodies were interred on shore. Amongst the fallen were ten Englishmen, the remaining fifteen being lascars and members of the native crew. One of the shot fired by the French fell at Nariyankâḍu,† and another struck the upper storey of an Englishman's house, smashing the glass doors, crockery, etc. The letter further stated that the wife of Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, had since removed to Mylapore, and that the English ships which

Damage done by it.

* For a hitherto unpublished account of this, see appendix.

† This is the native quarter to the south-west of Chintâdripêṭ in Madras. It is about a mile and-a-half in a direct line from the sea wall of the fort.

had been attacked by the French were fast filling with water.

Chinna Mudali told me that when he interpreted this narrative to the Governor, he cast his eyes upwards, bit his lips, and inveighed against the French ships for retiring without following up their success. He then handed the palmyra-leaf letter to me. I read it, and found the contents to be as stated above.

This morning, the Governor went to Ozhukarai to see M. de la Bourdonnais. He passed by the distillery; and perceiving him, I made my obeisance. As he went along, he cast a look towards the distillery, the palanquin, and the torches. As he was proceeding through the Paḷḷa Street, Chinna Mudali met him. Behind him came the peon who had brought the letter from the Nawâb to the Governor asking for a decision in Suga Sing's suit, and his recall. Whether this man was instigated by Chinna Mudali and Madanânda Paṇḍit, or by Suga Sing himself, I do not know, but, after saluting the Governor, he cried aloud. The Governor beckoned Chinna Mudali to him, and directed him to tell me to expedite the finding in Suga Sing's suit.

Chinna Mudali came to me at the arecanut storehouse, and delivered the message with which he had been charged by the Governor. I told him that the case had been disposed of, and that I had not as yet found a fitting opportunity to apprise the Governor of the fact. I asked him whether this

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Chinna Mudali describes anger of Governor on hearing the letter.

And hands the letter itself to diarist.

Governor passes diarist's distillery on his way to Ozhukarai.

Chinna Mudali meets the Governor.

Governor sends him to tell diarist to dispose of suit of Suga Sing.

He delivers the message.

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Diarist replies that the suit has been settled and asks that Nawab may be informed.

was not known to him also, and then desired him to address a letter to the Nawâb informing him that the suit had been decided, and that the peon was therefore being sent back. He told me that Suga Sing should also go. I said that there was no objection to his doing so. We next seated ourselves on the street pial, and he communicated to me the particulars—as related in another place—contained in a palmyra-leaf letter, of the arrival of the French ships at Madras, and of the fighting that took place there.

Chinna Mudali repeats the particulars of doings of French at Madras.

Surmise as to object of Governor's visit to M. de la Bourdonnais.

I surmise that the object of the Governor in paying a visit to M. de la Bourdonnais was to concert measures with him to expedite the attack on Madras. I am strengthened in my conjecture by the fact that, when he heard the news from Madras, the Governor rolled his eyes upward, bit his lips, and asked why the French had not followed up their victory. Everything will be known in due season.

Governor on return sends for MM. Paradis and Barthélemy.

When the Governor was returning from his visit to M. de la Bourdonnais, at half-past 10, he again glanced at my distillery, palanquin, and torches. On reaching his house, he sent for MM. Paradis and Barthélemy, and ordered his coach and six to be made ready. When it was intimated to him that the horses had been sent to Ariyânkuppam, he directed the palanquin to be brought, with four of my palanquin bearers. He then countermanded this order, and gave instructions that the one-horse carriage should be brought round, and he desired

Orders in rapid succession various conveyances to be made ready.

MM. Paradis and Barthélemy to precede him in this. Before another conveyance for his use could arrive, he commenced to bluster and swear, and despatched some twenty or thirty persons, one after another, to fetch it. At last it arrived; he got in, and at half-past 11, drove away to Ariyânkuppam, to his wife.

Chap. XXV. — 1746. His anger at delay. He leaves to join Me. Dupleix at Ariyankuppam.

The Governor being absent for the rest of this day, there is nothing more of consequence to relate.

I received, this evening, a letter written from Madras by Tirumalai Piḷḷai, the son of my father's elder brother, announcing the proposed celebration of the marriage, at about five Indian hours after sunset on Wednesday, 26th Âvaṇi of Akshaya [7th September 1746] of his son Venkaṭâchalam. In return I sent a reply forwarding a draft upon Bâla Muttu Cheṭṭi of Saidapet, a broker in cloths, for 50 pagodas, as my contribution towards the expenses of the wedding.

Diarist receives intimation of a coming marriage in house of a cousin.

Forwards contribution towards expenses.

Friday, 2nd September 1746, or 21st Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—An examination of the English broadcloth in the storehouse at the fort, disclosed that this article was beginning to be attacked by insects. Neglect for another two months would have resulted in the whole of the stuff being destroyed. Thank God, the inspection now made has saved it. Only a few bales—about five or six in number—have been injured. There were about seventeen which appeared to be in a sound condition. We took all these, as also six selected from such as were torn or

English broadcloth in store at fort damaged by insects.

Chap. XXV. — 1746. Sound bales and some of those damaged taken by merchants. Details of colours, etc., of these.

otherwise damaged in packing or during transit, and another six from amongst those that were moth-eaten, damp, and shrunken. We thus received in all twenty-nine bales, and one roll; each bale consisting of six rolls—two of lac colour, two of orange and two green. This year, a consignment of thin broad-cloth, known as 'Mocha' * stuff to the natives, and 'Londrin' to the Europeans, was received. Each bale of this consisted of five rolls of crimson and five of green. As ten of the bales have to be forwarded to Chandernagore, broad-cloth coloured white, yellow, and scarlet, was not received on this occasion. M. Cornet gave us also 100 bales of the green; ninety-six in one lot, and the remaining four in another. Fort Subbaiyan has informed me that M. Cornet said that he would charge a pagoda and-a-half a yard for this sort.

M. Cornet also supplies 100 bales of green cloth.

Letter from M. de la Bourdonnais to M. de Fontbrune.

Whilst I was in the fort, M. de la Bourdonnais sent a letter to one M. de Fontbrune, the contents of which were as follows: "Yesterday, as our squadron of eight sail was on its way from Madras and was passing close to Covelong, it met an English ship and a sloop returning from a voyage to Bencoolen. The squadron captured both. You will see them the day after to-morrow. In the ship there are two young elephants, three horses from

Announces the capture by fleet of English ship and sloop.

Cargo of the ship.

* This was English broad-cloth, and was called Mocha by the natives; as long before it became an article of regular trade it had found its way to Mocha, whence the Arab traders brought it further east. When the French came to deal in it they gave it the name of "Londrin."

Acheen, sulphur, frankincense, lead, some opium, gold, and similar articles. You have never seen elephants. You can examine these animals, the Acheen horses, and the gold, which is the produce of that country." He read this letter in the presence of M. Legou, M. Dulaurens, and M. Miran. The young M. Miran, who was also present and read the letter, hurried to the shop in the cloth market, where MM. Cornet, Duplan, Duplessis, Panon, Plaisanes who commands the soldiers, and I, were engaged in the inspection of bales of broadcloth, and taking off his hat, exultantly repeated to everyone the contents of the letter, as recorded above. I remarked to him that if elephants and horses formed part of the cargo, the ship was not likely to have come from Bencoolen, and said that I thought that she must have visited places such as Queda, Acheen, and Perak.

Young M. Miran hearing the news hastens to the cloth market to tell others.

Diarist opines that ship not from Bencoolen.

All those present said that my opinion was correct. It was reported that the ship belonged to Messrs. Morse and Monson.

To whom reported to belong.

The Governor and M. Paradis went to Ozhukarai in a carriage drawn by six horses to visit M. de la Bourdonnais, and returned by 10 in the morning.

Governor and M. Paradis visit M. de la Bourdonnais.

This is what M. Miran told me:—

M. Miran tells diarist that M. de Louche captured an English ship.

One M. de Louche had a fight with two English ships on their way to Bombay, and captured one of them. He left his own sloop at Mahé, and was about to proceed to Chandernagore, on board the

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prize. Those at Mahé said to him: "Seven ships are coming from France; you can accompany them; it is not advisable for you to start alone; there are English hanging about, do not go by yourself." His ill fortune would not permit him to listen to their advice, or to stay. He replied: "If my luck was not good, would it be likely that this prize would have fallen into my hands? Perhaps I may capture some more." So saying, he set out. When near Trincomalee, he was fallen in with by the English, and was caught as it were in a tiger's mouth. They seized him and his ship, and landed him at Madras. Twenty-five Coffres from Mascareigne were taken along with him, and they, too, are at Madras.

Contrary to advice starts off in the prize in search of other captures.

He is taken by the English, and carried prisoner with his men to Madras.

Some two or three days ago, the Governor also communicated similar news.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM SEPTEMER 3RD, 1746, TO SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1746.

Governor and M. Paradis again visit M. de la Bourdonnais—Former sups with his wife at Ariyânkuppam, and returns home—Diarist submits to Governor decision in a certain suit, and receives instructions thereon—Letter to Governor from Ghulâm Husain—After alluding to certain financial matters, it asks assistance by sea against the Dutch—And promises, in return, to make over certain ports at present possessed by that nation—Governor laughs on hearing this, and does not order reply—Message sent by Madame Barneval to the Governor—Informs him of contemptuous language of English at Madras with regard to the recent attack on shipping there—And asks why French withdrew—News regarding alarm of English contained in letter of person conveying message from Madame Barneval—Governor asks diarist what Ghulâm Husain has written to him—Speaks to him concerning a certain draft—Conversation regarding proposals made by Ghulâm Husain touching the Dutch—Governor expresses opinion that as the French are not at war with that nation, the offer cannot be accepted—Asks the news regarding Madras—Diarist before replying seeks to ascertain his views—And alludes to the alarm created in the past by the mere prospect of attack—Governor observes that M. de la Bourdonnais was the cause of this being allayed—Diarist on this proceeds first to tell him what the English have said of the French, and then to flatter him outrageously—And winds up by expressing his opinion as to the action of M. de la Bourdonnais—Governor replies—States what passed between him and M. de la Bourdonnais—And refers to the difference which arose between them—Blames Ministry in France for all that has occurred—Diarist observes that M. Orry is responsible—Discussion on this point—Governor remarks that M. de la Bourdonnais saved himself from punishment for previous misdeeds, by bribes to M. Fulvy—Diarist attributes to same cause continued inattention to complaints against him; as also his promotion—Governor exclaims that diarist knows everything—And desires him to enlighten others—Diarist suggests that this unnecessary, as fame of Governor is theme of popular songs—Governor expresses wish that reputation of French should be known far and wide—Abuses M. de la Bourdonnais—Diarist replies, and urges that if Madras is not taken, prestige of the French will suffer—Governor replying, refers to the perverse action of M. de la Bourdonnais—And says that he will see that Madras is captured—Governor indicates to diarist line to be followed in his conversations with other natives regarding the state of affairs—On the ground that his private finances have been crippled by expenditure for the expedition, begs diarist to look

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carefully to investments made for him—Translation of letter from Mylapore brought to Governor—Who, on reading it, says that M. de la Bourdonnais has brought dishonour on the French—Diarist remarks that if Madras is not taken, Pondichery had better be abandoned—Governor agreeing, alleges that greed of money is the motive influencing M. de la Bourdonnais—MM. d'Esprémenil and Paradis arrive, and accompany Governor to M. de la Bourdonnais—Arrivals from Madras describe panic there caused by the expedition—And state that small force could have captured fort—Diarist untruthfully informs Governor that he was told that it might be taken in two days—Refers to the capture of the two English ships—Governor remarks that the prizes are of small account—Letter to Governor from Nawâb—Warns him that further operations against Madras will involve his displeasure—evasive reply of Governor—He gives instructions to diarist touching a certain loan to the Company—In consequence, diarist has interview with J'afar Ṣâḥib—Who solicits his good offices touching proposals of Ghulâm Ḥusain with regard to Dutch—Chinna Mudali informs diarist of intended appeal by widow of Kanakarâya Mudali—And suggests that the Council should confirm his title—Diarist agrees to speak to Governor—Conversation with Governor concerning the matter of the loan to the Company—At request of Chinna Mudali, diarist meets him at Governor's house—Being asked their errand, former mentions the appeal, and asks that his title may be confirmed—Governor consents to presentation of petition—Sends for diarist, and questions him as to the truth of story told by Chinna Mudali—Bids him not to sell his horse cheaply to M. de la Bourdonnais, or order manufacture of goods for him—Finally permits him to do the latter, to the extent of advances made—Statement of broad-cloth purchased by diarist from Company—Trade transactions with M. de la Villebague—Diarist visits festival at Ariyânkuppam—Governor directs collection of horses for expedition against Madras—Goes to Ariyânkuppam, but returns suddenly—Another letter to Governor from Nawâb—States that as former instructions were not obeyed, advance will be made on Pondichery—Reply to this—Sixteen horses procured for expedition—Letters from Governor to Nawâb and Nizâm—Explain grounds for proposed attack on Madras—And ask co-operation—Persons to whom copies sent—Letters to certain amaldârs requesting assistance—Embarkation of troops—M. de la Bourdonnais takes leave of Governor—And embarks under salute—Administrative arrangements to be made on capture of Madras—Final embarkation of troops and stores—Dubâsh considered necessary—Diarist's brother selected—Certain clerks deputed to accompany him—Town gates closed.

Governor accompanied by M. Paradis visits M. de la Bourdonnais.

Saturday, 3rd September 1746, or 22nd Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—There was nothing particular to-day. In the afternoon, the Governor, accompanied by

M. Paradis, travelled in a carriage to Ozhukarai to see M. de la Bourdonnais, and after conversing with him went on to Nellitôppu, whence he drove to his wife at Ariyânkuppam, had supper with her, and returned home by 10.

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Sups with his wife at Ariyankuppam and returns home.

At half-past 11 to-day, I waited on the Governor, taking with me the parties and the arbitrators in the suit of Suga Sing, and informed him that the case had been decided. I submitted to him a copy in French of the judgment. He read it, and bade me tell the parties that payment should be made in accordance with the decree, and that they could then depart. I informed him that they had agreed, and were making the necessary arrangements. He then said: "Let them go." Thereupon we took leave of him, and returned.

Diarist submits decision in case of Suga Sing to Governor and receives his instructions.

Sunday, 4th September 1746, or 23rd Âvani of Akshaya.—To-day, two Company's peons brought a letter from Mîr Ghulâm Husain of Tinnevelly. This was in reply to the complimentary missive which the Governor had sent by them advising Mîr Ghulâm Husain of the advent of ships from France, and of his intention to at once pay the interest which had accrued on the lakh of rupees lent to him, and return the principal on the arrival of some more ships which were shortly expected. The reply ran as follows: "I am in receipt of your letter, which has given me much pleasure. Now, in compliance with what you have written, calculate the interest due to me, and give it to my father; let the principal continue with

Letter to Governor from Mir Ghulam Husain.

It first refers to the debt due to the writer.

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you; what does it signify if it remains in your hands or mine? Let it therefore be with you. Besides, on the coast of the kingdom of Drâviḍa, which we * have recently conquered, the Dutch possess fine harbours at Kâyal,† Tuticorin,† and Kulasêkarapaṭṭaṇam.† In the neighbourhood of these are fisheries of pearls and chanks,‡ and mines of cat's-eyes, which yield a very large revenue: I will put you in possession of these places. You must, in order to expel the Dutch, help me with your ships by attacks from the sea, whilst I employ my troops and horses, to fight by land. If we oppose them by both land and sea, they cannot stand before us. Then I will drive them out, and put you in possession of the harbours which I have mentioned. As to the arrangements to be entered into between us, I have spoken to the man sent by Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, to whom I have also forwarded a letter. He will communicate with you as regards all these. Please attend to my request." Chinna Mudali and Madanânda Paṇḍit read and explained the letter to the Governor, as written above. He only laughed at what it contained, and said nothing to Chinna Mudali respecting any reply to it.

And then offers to put French in possession of certain ports belonging to the Dutch.

If they will assist him in expelling them therefrom.

Governor on hearing letter read, laughs.

* *I.e.*, the Muhammadans.

† These were all ports (in what is now the Tinnevelly district) on the Gulf of Manaar. The first was the *Cail* of Marco Polo, and was in olden times, a large town. Tuticorin is the only one of the three which now possesses any importance.

‡ A large univalve shell much used by Hindus for making libations, and blowing as a horn at temples, etc. An extraordinarily high value is placed upon a shell of this kind in which the spiral is reversed.

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Letter from Madura-nayagam of Mylapore.

Then there came a palmyra-leaf letter from one Maduranâyagam of Mylapore, wherein he communicated news regarding Madras which he said that Madame Barneval * had asked him to convey to the Governor. The letter ran thus :—

Conveys a message to Governor from Me. Barneval informing him what people at Madras were saying of recent attack.

Madame Barneval desires me to write to you as follows : "The English gentlemen and ladies, influential Armenians, respectable natives, and others, are talking disparagingly of the French people saying : 'The French came to attack Madras ; there was only one English ship in the roads ; they saw her, and not being able to overcome her, took to flight. They talk big, but when it comes to the point, they can never stand their ground. Need they have brought eight men-of-war for an exploit such as theirs ? When they put in an appearance, they did not fight for even three hours ! They seem to have come with the idea of seizing the place if they found the English asleep. When they discovered that they were awake, they could not deal with even one ship, and having sustained some injury, took themselves off. Some say that had the French remained here, we should have captured the whole fleet. Are they not ashamed to come this way again ?' Others say : 'If the French had not come here, they would at least have caused us some

* This was Marie Rose, the third daughter of Madame Dupleix, by her first husband, M. Vincens. She married Francois Coyle de Barneval who was a merchant under the British East India Company, and was at the time resident at Fort St. George.

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And asks why the French retired without pushing their attack.

alarm, but now they have lost even this advantage.' I cannot bear to hear words of this kind. Having come to make an attack, why did they retire without making any attempt to carry out their purpose? Write all this to my father in my name."

What Maduranâyagam himself wrote to the Governor.

After sending this news to the Governor, as coming from his daughter, Maduranâyagam wrote the following to him on his own account: "Some English merchants and ladies fled to Pulicat, where the Dutch would not allow them to remain, and drove them away. The annoyance and apprehension suffered by native merchants, officers, and men and women of all classes, on the day of the battle cannot be described. The residents of Madras, such as Guzerâttis, Brâhmans, Muhammadans, and others, who ran away from the town on that day in various directions, as for instance, to Poonamallee, Kôyambêḍu, Nungambâkkam, and Mylapore, are only now returning. Their talk is exactly similar to that described above, and the priests at Mylapore, to whom it is unbearable, wish me to give you this news in their name. The English say that they have everything in readiness for war; rumours such as these are being spread throughout the place. The ship which lay in the roads has put to sea." Chinna Mudali read and explained this letter to the Governor, who directed that it should be taken to M. Mathieu, in order that it might be translated into French. Tânappa Mudali took it to the office of M. Mathieu.

Refers to terror caused by the French attack.

Says that the priests at Mylapore desire the news to be communicated to Governor.

Governor orders translation into French.

The Governor then summoned me, and said: "What has Mîr Ghulâm Husain written to you?" I replied: "Sir, it seems that a letter to me is on its way with my men. One of them, being unwell, has remained behind. The Company's peons who came in advance brought me this news."

Chap. XXVI. — 1746. Asks diarist what Mîr Ghulam Husain has written to him.

He remarked: "You remember telling me that you were expecting to receive a draft for 10,000 rupees; what have you to say to this?" "Yes, sir," I said, "I shall receive it soon." He observed that I was very slow indeed about the matter. I gave him no direct answer.

Speaks concerning an expected draft.

Then he said: "In the letter which Mîr Ghulâm Husain wrote to me, he mentions that he will put us in possession of Kâyal, Tuticorin, and other ports now in the hands of the Dutch, he wishes us to bring ships, and engage the Dutch at sea, whilst he fights them by land, and he has stated that all arrangements to be made hereafter with regard to this will be communicated by you to me." I replied: "Sir, has he written thus? They are good places, as there are fisheries of pearls and chanks, and there are mines of cat's-eyes and sapphires. Some misunderstanding and ill-will apparently exists between Mîr Ghulâm Husain and the Dutch, and this must be the reason why he wrote to you." He then observed: "If he is at peace with the Dutch, why should he write that he would give us those ports? If the reverse was not the case why should he ask us to make war on them by sea whilst he, with Mahfuz Khân, does the

And refers to the offer of Mir Ghulam Husain touching certain Dutch ports.

Conversation on this subject.

Governor asks why if Ghulam Husain was at peace with the Dutch he should ask help of French.

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Observes that though the opportunity is a good one, there being no war with the Dutch it cannot be availed of.

same by land? This, no doubt, is a good opportunity. The Company has nowhere places like these. If we were at war with the Dutch—as we are with the English—and if a chance such as this offered, we could possess ourselves of them. But as we are not, we cannot assent to his demand." I exclaimed: "Do you mean then, that your reply to Mîr Ghulâm Husain's letter is that you will not consent to his proposal?" "Yes," he replied, "That is what I intend to write to him."

Governor asks diarist news about Madras.

He asked me then what news there was about Madras? I thought that I ought not to give him an answer in a hurry, and without making myself fully acquainted with his views. I therefore said: "Sir, even prior to the departure of the expedition, and when our ships had not yet arrived, the circumstance that you went to Ozhukarai to dine, and drove to Mortâṇḍi Châvaḍi, created in the minds of the English the apprehension that you meditated an advance on Madras, or Fort St. David. Those at the former, believing that they would be attacked, closed the gates of the fort and city, bade the inhabitants of the latter seek places of refuge elsewhere, and busied themselves day and night, without a moment's rest, in getting their cannon ready; content if they saved their fort, and careless as to the fate of the town. They trembled with fear at the thought of the impending danger, which benumbed all their faculties, and filled them with terror. Ten or twelve times did the people of Fort St. David and

Diarist before replying seeks to ascertain his views.

And describes the alarm of the people of Madras at prospect of attack.

Cuddalore, similarly alarmed, flee from their homes, betaking themselves to Porto Novo, and by their numbers raising that village to the position of a city."

Governor observes that it was M. de la Bourdonnais who relieved them from this.

The Governor replied: "Although Madras was at one time in such a great state of alarm, it was M. de la Bourdonnais who relieved it from this by sending his squadron to attack it." When I understood what his views were, I suited my answers to them. I do not give in detail his questions and my answers. I record only a brief outline of them.

Diarist suits his conversation to views of Governor.

Informs him of the remarks of the English regarding recent attempt of French on Madras.

I remarked to the Governor: "People speak in a highly uncomplimentary way of the expedition against Madras, recently undertaken by the French. Their remarks are to the following effect: 'The French came to Madras to give battle to the English, but no sooner did they feel the weight of the fire of their enemy's ships and fort, than they took to flight. This is typical of the French nation, who to outward appearance are valiant, but when a crisis actually arises have no power of endurance. Why on earth have they assailed us, and returned with dishonour? But for this undertaking, they would have maintained at least a semblance of power. It will go hard with them in future. You will see how Pondichery will be harassed. Hereafter, every day will be one of disaster to it.' It is in contemptuous terms such as these that the prowess of the French is spoken of.

At Arcot, in Mysore and in all the cities on the coast, the Governor of Pondichery has

CHAP. XXVI. — 1746 Alludes to the high reputation borne by the Governor at Arcot and elsewhere.

unanimously been regarded as an administrator of transcendant ability, who, in spite of an empty exchequer, and commercial inactivity arising from the non-arrival of the trade-ships, carried on the affairs of that settlement without a shadow of embarrassment, and who with a view to infuse fear into the hearts of his enemies, and deter them from approaching this town, has maintained here a force of Mahé sepoys, and kept ready to hand a supply of powder, ball, and other munitions of war. The combination in him of tact, resource, heroism, military sagacity, and reserve, render him without an equal, and place him far above his fellow men.

Mentions the expectations entertained that he would capture Madras and Fort St. David.

All ask themselves whether one of this stamp, who eagerly desired an opportunity of avenging himself upon the English for their taunts and jeers, would now that he had been reinforced with men, money, and ships, fail to capture Madras and Fort St. David. They are, without exception, of opinion that the English can have no longer a hold on this coast.

And the opinion as to the intentions of M. de la Bourdonnais in making the recent demonstration.

It seems as though M. de la Bourdonnais, by his recent demonstration before Madras, from which he retired after firing a few cannon shot, undertook to ruin the reputation which you have acquired. They say that it was an unwise measure, and entailed loss of honour."

Reply of the Governor.

I spoke in these flattering terms of the excellence of his administration. Thereupon he exclaimed: "Ah, Rangappa! I need not mention to you with what zeal and care I have been working. Do you not

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know how, when I once set out to drive to Ozhukarai, the people of Fort St. David and Cuddalore fled from their homes, and how Madras was thereby thrown into a state of utter alarm? M. de la Bourdonnais, an utterly petty-minded man, and one entirely regardless of the blow which the honour of the French has sustained, informed me that the orders given to him were to fight at sea, and not on land. I thereupon read to him several communications showing all the evil deeds that the English had perpetrated, and impressed upon him that these occurrences could not have been within the knowledge of the authorities in France when they issued their orders to him. I even suggested to him that should they become cognisant of the actual state of affairs, they might take him to task for not co-operating with me. I also assigned other reasons, in the hope of persuading him to act in concert with me. At last, he said that he would accompany the expedition, but required that he should be furnished with an order from the Council. I then asked him whether I had made all the preparations which I had, without consulting him, and had a long conversation with him on the subject. He is, however, an artful man. Although he was a party to the arrangement, he has made me alone bear the whole expense, and has thus impoverished, and ruined me. On his arrival, he was but a pauper, bringing nothing with him but the woollen coat which he wore. Did you not then see him with your own eyes? You are a

States what took place between him and M. de la Bourdonnais.

How he pressed him to act in concert with him.

And how M. de la Bourdonnais consented on condition that the Council gave a written order.

Comments of Governor on his conduct.

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Blames King's Ministers. Diarist observes that M. Orry is responsible.

shrewd man, and there is scarcely anything of which you are not aware. The Ministers of the King of France are the cause of all this."

I observed: "Their predecessors acted differently. It is the present Controller-General M. Orry, who is accountable for this mismanagement."

Governor replies.

"Not he, but his brother" was the Governor's reply.

I then remarked: "It is true that it is traccable primarily to M. de Fulvy, who is a receiver of bribes. But the functionary directly responsible, and whom he influences, is the Controller-General: the blame, therefore, lies at the door of the latter."

Diarist maintains that M. Orry is to blame.

He admitted the truth of what I said, and continued: "For his misdeeds at Mascareigne, M. de la Bourdonnais was recalled, and was about to be rewarded with a rope about his neck, when he effected his escape by propitiating M. de Fulvy with abundant gifts."

Governor remarks that M. de la Bourdonnais previously escaped, by bribery, punishment for his misdeeds.

I replied: "Even now complaints are preferred by the inhabitants of Mascareigne and Mauritius against his acts of injustice, but they pass unnoticed on account of the bribes lavished on M. de Fulvy. M. de la Bourdonnais no doubt owes his present appointment as Admiral to the same venality."

Diarist attributes to same cause the continued inattention to complaints against him, as also his promotion.

The Governor exclaimed: "Your words indicate an accurate knowledge of facts. There is nothing concerning either the state of affairs in Europe, or the proceedings conducted by me here, or the measures taken by M. de la Bourdonnais, with which

Governor exclaims that diarist knows everything.

you are not acquainted. But people here, and the Muhammadan nobles outside Pondicherry, can have no knowledge of these matters, and might consequently impute the delay in the expedition against Madras to me. You should therefore disabuse their minds of any such impression, and enlighten them as to the actual facts."

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But observes that others do not, and desires him to enlighten them.

I replied: "Surely this is not a matter regarding which they require any thing said to them. Your fame has spread far and wide—from Golconda in the north, down to Arcot, Mysore and Negapatam. The courage with which, when unprovided with ships, you upheld the prestige of Pondichery, your determination to take Madras, and the expected success of your plans, are the themes of songs which have been composed, and are being sung."

Diarist suggests that this is unnecessary, as fame of Governor is the theme of popular songs.

"Who has caused these to be sung," asked he.

"They are sung in public," I replied.

"Sung in this town?"

"Yes, in this very town; by the people."

Conversation ont his point.

He burst into a laugh, and then exclaimed:—

"My desire is that the fame of the French should reach the Court of Delhi, and that it should be known far and wide that they are a brave and heroic nation, and have, for an act which tarnished their honour, rooted the English out of this land. My further wish is that this should serve as a lesson to others, and bring home to their minds that the French are not a people which will with impunity brook being crossed. But that dog, M. de la Bourdonnais, thwarts all my designs."

Governor laughing, states his desire that the reputation of the French should be known far and wide.

Abuses M. de la Bourdonnais.

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Diarist replies.

I replied: "The public are ignorant of the venality of the Ministers, to which M. de la Bourdonnais is indebted for his appointment, and to which is to be attributed the decline of the reputation of the French. The rumour goes in Arcot and elsewhere that the Governor of Pondichery is a brave officer, and able ruler, that he is much incensed against the English for a slight which they have cast on the French, and that as a force of ships has reached him from France he will no longer suffer them to retain possession of Madras, Fort St. David, and Cuddalore. It is therefore manifest that, if Madras remains uncaptured, the name of the French will suffer. There is, of course, nothing unknown to you, and you should forgive me, if through ignorance I have said anything wrong."

Urges that name of French will suffer if Madras be not taken.

I also touched on other matters tending to provoke him further.

Governor replies that he is doing all that he can

He replied: "You say only what is true, Rangappa. But what can I do? I am making all possible efforts."

"M. de la Bourdonnais cannot disregard the order issued by the Council" said I.

Mentions action of M. de la Bourdonnais when told that the order demanded by him would be given.

He replied: "When M. de la Bourdonnais was told that an order of the Council would be given to him, he pleaded illness, and said that he would set out on the expedition as soon as he felt better. I thereupon suggested to him that during his absence on account of ill-health, he might depute some other suitable officer for the command. His answer to

this was that it was a business the execution of which rendered his presence indispensable. Nevertheless, I have not abandoned the undertaking. I will—come what may—see to the capture of Madras."

And says that he will see that Madras is captured.

I added: "If this be not done your reputation, which extends far and wide—even to Delhi—will suffer."

Reply of diarist.

Agreeing with me that the result would be as I indicated, he said to me: "You must, in your conversation with the Muhammadans and Hindus, mention what my views are, how enthusiastic I am over the affair, and how basely M. de la Bourdonnais throws impediments in the way of the execution of my plans."

Governor indicates to him the line which he should adopt when conversing with other natives.

I answered: "Even now these matters form a common subject for discussion, and I will certainly introduce them in the course of my conversations with others."

He promises compliance.

The Governor then remarked: "All this has been an enormous drain on my resources. You should make my concerns as profitable as possible. You can manage that. There have been losses at sea for the last two years; there is a lull in trade and business, expenses are running high, and day after day additional items involving large outlay are pouring in. Such being the circumstances in which I am placed, you must give this matter your constant and unremitting attention."

Governor remarking that expenditure incurred has seriously affected his resources, begs diarist to see carefully to his concerns.

I exclaimed: "I am ever at your service, and will do as you bid me. My acts will speak for themselves."

He promises to do so.

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M. Mathieu brings translation of letter from Mylapore.

As we were thus talking together, M. Mathieu brought the translation of the palmyra-leaf letter addressed to Chinna Mudali from Mylapore—the particulars of which have already been given. It was read to me. The Governor turning to me observed: "It is just as you told me; the Muhammadan, Hindu, and European gentry, with one accord, speak disparagingly of us. Look at this! Did M. de la Bourdonnais, who planned the expedition, capture even a single ship in the roads there? It would have been far more creditable had it not been sent at all. His behaviour has now brought infamy upon us. This de la Bourdonnais—because the Ministers did not specifically state in their orders to him that he should take my advice, and act in consultation with me—this dog de la Bourdonnais has done a deed, the only results of which are ignominy and contempt. He failed to take Madras, which was in reality a work of no more than half an Indian hour, and did not even capture the single ship that was there. His action has been like child's play, and has brought disgrace and dishonour on our name."

Governor comments on its contents.

And says M. de la Bourdonnais has brought disgrace and dishonour on the French name.

Diarist remarks that if Madras is not captured Pondichery had better be abandoned.

I said: "I already told you that this was a matter in which our honour was seriously involved; that Madras must without fail be captured, and that if there was default in this, the French had better abandon Pondichery, and return home."

He replied: "You are right. In view of the respect in which our name has been held in this country, it is far better, if Madras is not to be

taken, that we should do this. But little does M. de la Bourdonnais care what befalls the good name of France. The only motive by which he is actuated is greed of money. He obtains from Madras bales upon bales of chintz, and coarse and other kinds of cloths. I have now put a stop to the importation of these goods."

Chap. XXVI. 1746. Governor agrees; observing that only motive actuating M. de la Bourdonnais is greed of money.

He dwelt upon this subject for about four Indian hours. I all along continued to express views in consonance with his inclinations, praising him unreservedly wherever I could.

Diarist continues his flatteries.

M. d'Espréménil then arrived. The translation was shown to him, and he also perused it. It was subsequently despatched to M. de la Bourdonnais by the Governor's mace-bearer. Half an Indian hour afterwards, M. Paradis came, and the Governor, accompanied by these two gentlemen, then repaired to the house of M. de la Bourdonnais.

M. d'Espréménil and Paradis arrive and accompany Governor to M. de la Bourdonnais.

The Muhammadan gentlemen who recently arrived from Madras informed me that as soon as the eight French ships arrived off Madras, the Governor, Mr. Morse, sent his wife with all his treasure to Pulicat, that this circumstance had so much terrified the citizens of Madras that the wealthy had deserted their homes, that the English who remained were paralysed with fear, that if at this juncture 500 soldiers had landed from the ships, the fort would have fallen into the possession of the French; that they had imprudently missed this opportunity, that the English had since recovered

Muhammadans from Madras describe the panic there caused by the expedition.

And states that a very small force could then have captured fort.

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their courage and had grown wary, and that it was only with some effort that they could now be dispossessed of the fort. This was the opinion of Asad Sâhib, Haidar Sâhib, and other Muhammadans.

Diarist untruthfully states to Governor that he was told that fort can be taken in two days.

Without communicating, in their entirety, all these details to the Governor, I informed him that they had said that the fort could have been taken in two days. I further told him, as having heard it from the same individuals, the news that the French had captured a ship and a sloop belonging to the English, which had on board valuables worth a lakh of pagodas. He replied that they carried gold and silver worth 50,000 dollars, two calf elephants, and three horses, but no other cargo. I said: "What will this come to?" He exclaimed: "Oh! Is this a prize to be made much account of when compared with the expense incurred? It will be appropriated as follows: two-thirds to the Company, and the remainder to the fighting crew of the ship; even the lascars will participate according to their grades."

Refers to capture of English ships.

Governor remarks that the prizes are of small account.

Letter from Nawab to Governor.

Monday, 5th September 1746, or 24th Âvani of Akshaya.—The Governor received a letter from the Nawâb, the contents of which were as follow: "The fleet which you despatched for the attack on Madras * has so much disquieted the minds of the

* In the original, the word used is Pâdsha-bandar (Emperor's landing place). From the context there cannot be the slightest doubt that it refers to Madras. It occurs in the same sense in two other passages later on (pp. 292 and 293). How this name came to be applied to Madras has not been discovered.

merchants and inhabitants of that city, including Navaits and all other classes of Muhammadans, that they have deserted their homes, and have betaken themselves elsewhere. When the English, some time back, were planning an expedition against Pondichery, we intervened, and prevented them from carrying out their design. It therefore comes as a surprise to us to learn that you have thought of carrying on warlike operations against Madras. We hope, however, that you will in future abstain from pursuing hostile measures such as these. If you do not, you will give us cause to be seriously provoked."

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Expresses surprise at attack on Madras, and warns Governor that further operations will involve serious displeasure.

This letter was read to the Governor by Madanânda Paṇḍit and Tânappa Mudali, upon which he dictated a reply to the following effect:—

"No harm will be done to the people. The officers of our ships of war will be guided only by the instructions given to them by their King. I herewith send you 150 oranges, which be pleased to accept."

Governor sends evasive reply.

A letter in the foregoing terms, accompanied by 150 oranges, was accordingly despatched.

To-day the Governor sent for me, and said: "M. Le Maire has calculated and brought to me an account of the interest which has accrued on the lakh of rupees lent by Mîr Ghulâm Husain to the Company. You had better see his father, J'afar Ṣâhib, with regard to this business. His son's letter, received from Tinnevelly, in the south, is at present with the Brâhman who writes Persian, whom it is

Governor instructs diarist as to a certain loan to the Company made by Mir Ghulam Husain.

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desirable that you should take with you. Let J'afar Ṣâhib read that letter. You will then state to him the particulars of the loan, and the amount of interest due. The sum to be paid to him presently can be taken towards meeting the interest. Inform him that the balance will be liquidated at an early date."

Madanânda Pandit and he accordingly have an interview with J'afar, father of Mir Ghulam Husain.

Madanânda Paṇḍit and I accordingly repaired to J'afar Ṣâhib, read to him the account connected with the loan transaction, and handed to him the letter received from his son. After perusing this, he complimented the Governor in the following words: "Thanks to the favour of your Governor, we reside here. He makes no distinction between his own house, and this." I replied in suitable terms, alleging that I did so at the Governor's bidding. He then said: "Let the principal continue to remain with the Governor. On your paying the balance of the interest, I will furnish you with a receipt." Finally by way of compliment, he remarked to me: "With reference to what is mentioned in the letter, concerning Kâyal and Tuticorin, you should use your good offices with the Governor, and see that the proposal becomes an accomplished fact." Madanânda Paṇḍit and I then bade him farewell. J'afar Ṣâhib said that he would send his agent Sadâsiva Aiyan on the following morning, with the accounts. We said: "It is well," and went home.

Who makes a complimentary speech.

And solicits the good offices of diarist regarding his proposals touching the Dutch.

Tuesday, 6th September 1746, or 25th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—Chinna Mudali, the brother of Kanakarâya Mudali, said to me to-day: "Kanakarâya Mudali's

widow has expressed her intention to appeal to the next Government. It will therefore be well if the legality of my succession be confirmed by an order of Council." I replied: "Your claim has been declared, at a meeting of the leading men of eighteen castes, valid and legal. They have delivered an award in your favour, and it is in the handwriting of the town accountant, and signed by them and the Governor. Why should you entertain any doubts?" He rejoined: "An order of Council will strengthen my case. I may have, at any rate, to spend something afterwards." I then said: "Very well. I will speak to the Governor."

Chap. XXVI. — 1746. Chinna Mudali, stating that widow of Kanakarayan intends to appeal, suggests confirmation of his title by an order of the Council.

Diarist agrees to speak to Governor.

Wednesday, 7th September 1746, or 26th Âvani of Akshaya.—The Governor asked me how the accounts of Mîr Ghulâm Husain stood. I replied: "The statement of debts and interest prepared by M. Le Maire is correct, but half a month still remains to be written up." Upon this, the Governor completed it with his own hand. I then observed: "There is an entry of a payment of 4,000 rupees by Tarwâdi." The Governor replied: "According to the statement, the Company's accounts are correct. There is an entry in those connected with Mîr Ghulâm Husain to the effect that the warehousekeeper at the fort has paid him Rs. 4,000, through Tarwâdi. It is of course true that this man was asked to pay the amount. The money has not melted away, and vanished. Would it not be advisable to borrow from the Company the whole amount required, and pay him Rs. 4,000 therefrom?"

Conversation with the Governor touching accounts of Mir Ghulam Husain.

And regarding an entry in the statement prepared by M. Le Maire.

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I said that I would send for Tarwâḍi, speak to him, and communicate the result. He bade me do so.

At request of Chinna Mudali diarist meets him at the house of the Governor, who asks their errand.

This morning, Chinna Mudali despatched his peon Aruṇâchalam to beg me to go to the Governor's house soon, as I had agreed to do yesterday. I accordingly went. Tânappa Mudali was already there. He and I then entered the presence of the Governor, who was alone, and we saluted him. He asked us what our errand was. Chinna Mudali said to him as follows: "Nakshatram, the widow of the deceased Kanakarâya Mudali, intends memorializing the next Government in regard to her husband's estate. She has already drawn up the petition. She is complaining to everybody that she has been treated with great injustice, and that, by making some gifts to you, I have had the dispute decided in my favour; and she avers that she will not let the matter drop. Although her appeal may not prove successful, I shall certainly have to incur some expenditure in consequence of it. We therefore consider it desirable to procure, during your tenure of office, an order of Council on the subject." The Governor then said to me: "Is this a matter for the Council's interference?" I replied: "During the government of M. de la Prévostière, there was a parallel case in which an award delivered by arbitrators from all the eighteen castes was confirmed by the Council. Again, the dispute between Vîrâ Mudali and me, which was determined by a reference to arbitration, was taken cognizance of by the Council, in M. Lenoir's time, and orders were

Former mentions the appeal of the widow of Kanakaraya Mudali.

And asks that his title may be confirmed by an order of Council.

Conversation on the subject.

passed upon it." Upon this, the Governor said: "Very well, draw up a petition, and bring me with it a translation of the award delivered by the arbitrators." Tânappa Mudali and I then retired.

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Governor consents to a petition being presented. He subsequently questions diarist as to the truth of the story of Chinna Mudali.

The Governor subsequently sent for me, and said: "Is it true that the widow of the late Kanakarâya Mudali has stated as is alleged?" I answered: "This is what Chinna Mudali says, and would he do so unless there was some foundation for it? I, personally, have not heard any report to that effect." The Governor then observed: "I hear that M. de la Bourdonnais has asked for your horse. Do not part with it for a low price." I replied: "Sir, the animal is a country bred. Nobody would purchase it for 450 rupees. But he has paid 600 rupees for it." He then said: "Do not order manufacture of any goods indented for by M. de la Bourdonnais." I replied: "When I informed you once before that he had requested me to supply some merchandise, you permitted me to comply with his request. I thereupon received some money from him. I will now return it to him." He then exclaimed: "Supply him with the goods for which you have already been given the money. Do not in future take anything from him." I said: "Very well," and departed.

Bids him not sell his horse cheaply to M. de la Bourdonnais.

Then directs him not to order manufacture of goods for that gentleman.

On diarist's explaining that he had received advances, Governor permits supply to this extent.

There were in the fort twenty bales of broadcloth, containing 200 pieces, wholly red, called, "second sort, fine," all of which I took over. M. Cornet has delivered to me all the English

Statement of broadcloth purchased by diarist from Company.

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broad-cloth in the storehouse, with the exception of six bales which were damp, torn, or mildewed.

I was at night entertained at a banquet in the garden-house of Muttu Cheṭṭi.

Trade transactions with M. de la Villebague.

Thursday, 8th September 1746, or 27th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—Nothing noteworthy occurred to-day at the Governor's house.

M. de la Villebague received from me the indent and receipt for 10,000 rupees, which he gave me on the 25th August, gave me another sum of 10,000 rupees, and obtained from me a receipt for the whole 20,000. He furnished me with a revised indent.

Diarist visits festival at Ariyan-kuppam.

As this was the concluding day of the Christian festival at Ariyânkuppam, I returned home, after having seen the spectacle at the Villiyanallûr gate.

Governor directs diarist to procure horses for expedition against Madras.

Friday, the 9th September 1746, or 28th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—M. Dupleix sent for and directed me to procure fifteen horses, stating that they were required for the expedition against Madras. M. d'Auteuil came to me twenty times to remind me of this order.

Brass pots also ordered.

M. Cornet said that it was the desire of the Governor that a supply of six or seven large brass pots, for boiling gram, should be sent.

Governor suddenly returns from Ariyan-kuppam to Pondi-cherry.

This evening, the Governor drove to Ariyân-kuppam, where his wife is residing. It is said that he received there a letter from Kârikâl. Soon after reading it, he returned to Pondichery, giving up his original intention of remaining at Ariyânkuppam for the night, and he left instructions with his wife to follow him next day. As no food was ready for

him at Pondichery, he made a meal from dishes obtained from other houses.

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Another letter to Governor from Nawab.

This day, a letter addressed to the Governor was received from the Nawâb, and it was to the following effect:—

States that, as instructions not to attack Madras have not been obeyed Nawab will advance on Pondichery.

"In spite of our explicit instructions that you should forbear from attacking Madras, you have despatched an expedition thither. We are therefore not disposed to allow Pondichery to continue in your possession. We accordingly propose to advance against your town. You transgress all bounds; this is improper."

The letter was couched in these harsh terms. The Governor directed the despatch of a reply as below:—

Reply to this.

"The captains of the ships of war of France are bound by the orders of their King; and will not care to listen to the counsels of others."

Sixteen horses collected for attack on Madras.

Saturday, 10th September 1746, or 29th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—In accordance with the orders of the Governor, who had directed that all the horses in the possession of the townspeople should be obtained for the expedition against Madras, we collected thirteen animals from the natives, and three from the Europeans, and handed these sixteen over to the charge of M. d'Auteuil.

Letters from Governor to Anwar-ud-din Khan and Nizam-ul-mulk.

To-day, a letter was despatched to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, enclosing a copy of another addressed to Nizâm-ul-mulk. The purport of the communication was as follows:—

Chap. XXVI. — 1746. These explain in detail grounds for contemplated attack on Madras.

"The King of France has been informed that the English at Madras have unjustly seized French ships, and that they have taken another, bound for Manilla, which bore the name and flag of Muḥammad Shâh the Emperor of Delhi, and was carrying a cargo consigned to him. The insult offered to the Emperor, by thus capturing a ship bearing his name and flag, has exceedingly enraged the King of France, his most faithful friend. He is therefore resolved that the city of Madras, which belongs to the English, shall be seized, and that the British flag which now flies there shall be torn down, and replaced by that of the French. He has accordingly despatched a few men-of-war to take Madras, and to hoist the white flag over it. We are carrying out the royal mandate, and you should help us in whatever way you can."

And ask co-operation.

Persons to whom copies were sent.

The foregoing facts were set out, in all fulness, on four sheets of paper. A copy was sent to Niẓâm-ul-mulk, another to Imâm Ṣâḥib, and a third to Anwar-ud-dîn K͟hân; as also one to the vakîl* Subbaiyan, who was commissioned to read and show it to all Muhammadans. It was also rendered into Telugu, and the vakil was requested to show it to all the Telugu and Tamil gentry, and explain its contents.

Letter translated into Telugu.

Route by which letters for Nizam, etc., forwarded.

The letter to Niẓâm-ul-mulk was forwarded to Masulipatam, with that addressed to Imâm Ṣâḥib,

* An attorney; an authorized representative; an agent.

for transmission thence to its destination. That for Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was despatched to Arcot, by two peons, and they carried one for the vakîl Subbaiyan, who was instructed in it to report what occurred there.

Letters in similar terms sent to amaldars of Mylapore and Poonamallee requesting assistance.

Letters in similar terms were also sent to the amaldârs of Mylapore and Poonamallee, who were at the same time requested to furnish the French with whatever help they required. They were warned that should they fail to comply, they would be punished, and their towns would be plundered; but on the other hand a promise was made that in the event of their assisting with the requisite men and provisions, they would be adequately recompensed. These communications were handed over to M. d'Espréménil, for delivery to the addressees in person.

These handed to M. d'Espreménil for delivery.

Embarkation of troops for attack on Madras.

This evening, the Mahé sepoys and soldiers, destined for the attack on Madras, were put on board ship. All the peons in the service of the Company who lived in the town were mustered, and detailed for attendance on the different officers. The order was written by the Governor with his own hand. Peons were also collected as specified below. The Deputy Governor was asked to send his peon Muttukrishṇama Nâyakkan; I, one; Accountant Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan, four; the Custom House, four; the Mint two; the Hospital, four; and the members of the Council, their respective peons.

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Peons and two native officers shipped.

A hundred peons, and two native officers named Perayan and Anandappan, embarked; and the peons and soldiers who remained in the garrison were posted at the batteries.

M. de la Bourdonnais, being about to sail for Madras, goes to take leave of him.

Sunday, 11th September 1746, or 30th Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—At 9 this morning, M. de la Bourdonnais, being about to set out on the expedition against Madras, repaired to the Governor's house, to take leave of him. They conversed together for two Indian hours, and then went as far as the Custom House on the beach, where M. de la Bourdonnais bade farewell to the Governor. Twenty-one guns were then fired, and another salvo of a like number was discharged when M. de la Bourdonnais entered the boat which was to take him on board. It carried two flags, and bore him to his ship.

Governor bids him farewell on the beach.

He embarks under a salute.

Administrative arrangements to be made on capture of Madras.

The arrangement in contemplation is that as soon as the fort at Madras is captured, and the French flag hoisted on it, M. d'Espréménil is to assume the office of Governor, and M. Paradis that of Deputy; all the other Europeans, including soldiers, East Indians, Mahé sepoys, and Carnatic peons, looking upon them as their superiors. These two officers, as well as M. d'Auteuil captain of the guard, and the body guard, embarked. Thirty-six horses, including those belonging to the Company, were also taken on board. The munitions of war which had been collected during the last two years, and all the arms required for the capture of the fort, were shipped in order to obviate

French embarkation of troops, arms and stores.

the necessity of having to procure them later on. To give one an idea of the stores with which the expedition was furnished, it is sufficient to mention that even bundles of brooms were not forgotten. When all the supplies had been embarked, M. Dupleix returned home. For the reasons stated below, it was considered that the services of a dubâsh would be required at Madras during the time that operations were in progress.

Chap. XXVI. — 1746. Completeness of stores.

A dubâsh required.

The agents of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and of the Muhammadan officers at the chief places near Madras, may have occasion to call on the French officials. The Muhammadan nobles are also likely to visit them. The French may also have to communicate with some of the horsemen of the Nawâb, with Muhammad Kamâl the son of the Nawâb by a concubine, and with the Muhammadans in charge of the forty horses which accompany him, on the pretence that they are the Nawâb's. These, it may be mentioned, have been obtained by the people of Madras through the agency of the son of Valî Muhammad, the ex-amaldâr of Tiruppâsûr, who abandoning that office, has taken to the profession of a merchant at Madras. He has supplied this number, against 300 indented for. The amaldârs of Poonamallee and Mylapore, and others of this class, may likewise find it necessary to hold intercourse with the French.

Reasons for this.

On these grounds the Governor desired me to send my brother Tiruvêngadam for this duty. I

Diarist's brother selected.

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Diarist though at first objecting and offering to go himself, acquiesces.

represented that he was young and raw, and having had no experience of times of war, might lose his head; and on this ground I offered to go myself. He replied: "He is endowed with very quick parts, is more intelligent than yourself, and is eminently suited to the situation. He only should be sent. You cannot be spared. You may accompany me when I go." It was evident that he would lose his temper if I opposed him further. I therefore acquiesced, but inquired who of the Company's clerks would accompany him. He replied: "Send whomsoever you like"; and left the selection to my option. I then arranged that Krishṇaiyan the Hasty, and Chinna Tambu Rangappa Cheṭṭi, should accompany Tiruvêngaḍam, and told them to prepare at once to start for Madras by land.

Those selected to accompany diarist's brother.

Gates of town closed.

This morning, all the gates of the town remained closed. The wicket at the Vazhudâvûr gate alone was left open, injunctions being given to the towns-people not to leave Pondichery. But cattle were allowed egress, and people from outside were free to come in.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1746, TO SEPTEMBER 23RD, 1746.

Fleet detained by delay in repair of one of the ships—Governor sees to this in person—Gates remain closed—Fleet sails at night—How composed—Governor directs departure of diarist's brother—Letters handed to him for delivery at Madras—Personal instructions given to him by Governor—Diarist advises his brother to keep a diary—And report to M. d'Espréménil anything done by M. de la Bourdonnais—He starts for Madras—Omen observed on his departure considered not an ill one—Town gates reopened—Governor asks diarist whether his brother has departed—And what the instructions given to him were—Conversation regarding profits likely to accrue to them by this mission to Madras—Governor, referring to his losses, urges diarist to do his best for him—And desires him to instruct his brother to make daily reports—Diarist does so, and sends his brother materials for keeping diary—Governor asks whether news received from Madras—And what the Muhammadans say as to affairs—Diarist tells him—And mentions their contemptuous opinion of the English—Governor directs a certain paper to be read to them—Contents of this—Diarist instructs Madanânda Paṇḍit accordingly—He reports compliance—Governor again inquires as to news from Madras—Informs diarist of receipt of note from M. Paradis—Diarist foretells easy capture of Madras—And speaks flatteringly of French nation, and Governor—Predicts that renown of Governor will be a source of constant pride to his family—And that King will appoint him prime minister—Delight of Governor—Speaks of diarist in the highest terms to those present—Requests him to repeat what Muhammadans have said—Governor renews inquiries regarding Madras—Tells diarist what occurred after French reached Mylapore—And what took place when the amaldâr read the letter addressed to him—Makes depreciatory remarks regarding Muhammadans—And observes that conquest of India would be easy if it consisted of independent kingdoms—Diarist suggests that small force, which he names, would be sufficient to oust the Muhammadans—Governor replies that half of this would be sufficient—Letter to Tânappa Mudali intimates investment of Madras—And action of English thereupon—Governor communicates this news to the Council, etc.—Remarks of diarist on hearing it—Governor concurs with them, and asks information regarding fort, etc.—Letter to Governor from Mahé—Reports that seven ships are on their way to Pondichery—Elation of Governor—Letter from M. de la Bourdonnais—Engagement of M. de la Touche—Diarist congratulates him—Business

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transactions with M. Cornet—Urgent letter to Governor from Nawâb desiring that French will desist from attacking Madras—Governor directs courteous, but equivocal, reply to be sent—Informs diarist of receipt of letter from M. de la Bourdonnais—And comments on conduct of English reported therein—Diarist speaks flatteringly to Governor—Who replies—Diarist continues his flattery—Tells Governor of prophecy of Brâhman that he would capture Madras—Governor remarks on intelligence of Brâhmans—Diarist states Brâhman foretold that Governor would be created a marshal—And explains why he concluded that this was what the Brâhman meant—Governor thanks him—Diarist informs him that his great deeds are the subject of song—Governor imputes this to him—Conversation on the subject—Diarist states what the songs contain—Governor again imputes them to him—And directs the singing of them before him and Madame Dupleix—Defers this to next day—Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai details conversation with Governor regarding the songs—Reply of diarist—Performance suddenly ordered—The audience—Song translated to Governor by Madame Dupleix—Contents of it—Governor desires certain alterations—Directs singers to perform again after revision—Delight of audience—Letter to Governor from Madras—Intimates capture of Fort St. George—Governor causes salutes to be fired—Announces publicly the news—And that Governor, etc., made prisoners—Thanksgiving service held—Subsequent proceedings—The people attend to congratulate Governor—Who orders distribution of sugar-candy, and directs illuminations, etc.—Promises diarist to grant any requests that he may make—Those made all granted—Company's merchants, etc., request permission to build wall round a temple—Governor promises to consider the matter, but finally consents—Parade of troops, and firing of salutes—Day, one of rejoicing.

Fleet detained by delay in repair of one of the ships.

Monday, 12th September 1746, or 31st Âvaṇi of Akshaya.—One of the ships was unavoidably delayed, as work connected with her rudder was still in progress. The Governor repaired to the beach, saw to the proper fitting of the steering gear, caused the articles which still had to be shipped to be placed on board, and then directing that a gun should be fired in token of the fact that all arrangements had been completed, and nothing else remained to be done, went home.

Governor sees to this in person.

As was the case yesterday, all the gates were closed, and the wicket at Vazhudâvûr alone remained open to admit of ingress into the town. No one was, however, allowed to go out.

CHAP XXVII. — 1746. Gates remain closed.

At half-past 8 this night, all the ships of the expedition against Madras set sail. The fleet consisted of M. de la Bourdonnais' squadron of seven ships, two country craft, and a number of sloops and boats. When it stood out to sea, a gun was fired to intimate this to the Governor.

Fleet sails at 8-30 P.M. How composed.

Tuesday, 13th September 1746, or 1st Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor directed me to tell my brother Tiruvêngaḍam to set out with Krishṇaiyan the Hasty and Chinna Tambu Rangappa Cheṭṭi, under escort of twenty peons. They were to pass through Morṭâṇḍi Châvaḍi and Tirukkazhukkunram, halt at Covelong, and thence make their way to Madras along the sea shore. He gave me a letter addressed to M. de la Bourdonnais, and two others to MM. d'Espréménil and Paradis, which were to be handed over to my brother, and he instructed me to despatch him at once on his journey. I accordingly delivered the three letters to my brother. The Governor, in person, told him to see the merchants and others at Madras, and persuade them to settle at Pondichery with all their effects. He also authorised him to execute the necessary agreements, and make such conditions as he thought fit. These the Governor promised to ratify. He further enjoined on me to caution my brother to be

Governor directs diarist to instruct his brother set out.

Hands him certain letters for delivery at Madras.

Instructions given personally by Governor to diarist's brother.

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Diarist bids his brother keep a diary and report to M. d'Espréménil the doings of M. de la Bourdonnais.

always circumspect; which I did. In addition to this I advised him to report to me, from time to time, what took place at Madras, and to maintain in a book a concise diary of the occurrences of every day. I further suggested to him that inasmuch as M. de la Bourdonnais was accompanied by his brother, he should keep M. d'Espréménil and others informed of everything done by M. de la Bourdonnais that might come to his knowledge, and I urged on him that his conduct should be such as would earn the approval of the Governor.

He starts for Madras.

It was about 9 o'clock when my brother set out with Krishṇaiyan the Hasty and Rangappa Cheṭṭi. These being troublous times, Heaven only knows how uneasy I felt when he bade me farewell. Just as he got into the palanquin, somebody behind us sneezed, and Kunjân, the interpreter of M. de la Touche, drew the attention of Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi to this. I requested Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi to escort my brother as far as the Vazhudâvûr gate. He did so, and on his return informed me that with the exception of the sneeze, there was no other omen—auspicious or otherwise. I remarked: "This is a journey which has been undertaken with misgivings and feelings of depression. The sneeze signifies that there is no ground for anxiety, and that he will return to us in safety. Under the circumstances, the omen portends no ill." With these words, I permitted him to retire.

Omen observed as he was doing so.

Considered to portend no ill.

All the town-gates, which for the past two days had been closed in view to prevent the residents from leaving, were thrown open at day-break to-day, and people have been going in and out, as freely as ever.

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Town gates reopened.

Wednesday, 14th September 1746, or 2nd Purattâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to the Governor's house; he was engaged in writing, and nothing noteworthy took place. I then walked on to my arecanut storehouse, where I stayed until noon, and thence returned home.

In the evening at 5, the Governor, who was at the Vazhudâvûr gate, where a moat is being constructed, sent for me. In obedience to the summons, I went to him, and paid my respects. As soon as he saw me, he inquired whether I had sent my brother to Madras. I answered: "He left for Madras at 9 yesterday morning." He then said: "Have you told him that he can give permits to merchants under his own hand, that the signatures of M. de la Bourdonnais and M. d'Espréménil and others to such orders will be unnecessary, and that it will be enough for him to keep them informed of what he does? Does he know that I have given him general discretionary power in the transaction of business? I have already spoken to you on these matters."

Governor sends for diarist.

Inquires whether his brother has started, and asks whether certain instructions were given to him.

I replied: "I have told him to furnish permits as desired by you, and should any doubts be raised, to give his word of honour that they will be respected."

Diarist replies.

He then said: "What profit is his mission likely to yield to us."

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Conversation regarding profits likely to result from this mission.

My answer was: "About five lakhs of pagodas might be made if my advice be acted upon in all transactions connected with the Armenian merchants and others, and with the English Governor and his Deputy."

Governor referring to his losses urges diarist to do his best for him.

"I do not believe that we can make so much. But you must do your best, and put all your heart into this matter," said he. He then spoke at length on the losses which he had sustained during the past two years, and the daily increasing expenses, and said that he would conduct the affairs of Madras on the lines suggested by me. He told me to instruct my brother to furnish a daily account of what was taking place there. He dwelt on the need for constant thought regarding affairs at Madras, and continued indulging in sundry visionary projects, based on the presumption that the town would fall into the hands of the French; to all of which I made suitable replies. He then, permitted me to go home, and repaired to his residence.

And bids him instruct his brother to make daily reports.

Diarist sends his brother directions accordingly, and materials for keeping diary.

After my return, I addressed a letter to my brother desiring him to send me, by post, frequent intelligence concerning matters at Madras. I despatched it by a courier, as also the following articles of stationery:—a register in which to record daily events, two packets of paper for writing letters, a stick of red sealing wax, and ten pens properly mended.

Governor asks if any news from Madras.

Thursday, 15th September, or 3rd Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—This day, the Governor summoned me,

and asked whether any news had been received from Madras. I answered in the negative. He then inquired in what terms Asad Sâhib and other Muhammadans referred to the affairs of the day. I replied: "They say that on the occasion of their first naval expedition against Madras the French could have captured the fort in two Indian hours, and that if but 500 Frenchmen had landed then, they could have obtained, without any difficulty whatsoever, possession of it. They further say that as soon as the French ships were sighted, the Governor there sent off his wife and all his money, to Pulicat, that this action so terrified the other Europeans that they did the same with regard to their women folk, and that consequently the residents of both the fort and town have all fled, and abandoned their homes. They declare that they were never before aware that Englishmen were such a white-livered race, and that they were hitherto under the impression that they were a people which had some military spirit in it, but that they are now convinced that the fighting instinct is one entirely lacking in these merchants. Such are the discreditable terms in which they speak of the English. On the other hand, they applaud your courage and talent, and the credit which you have gained."

And inquires what the Muhammadans say as to affairs.

Diarist tells him.

And mentions their contemptuous opinion of English.

In these words I told him in detail all that I had heard. Thereupon, he directed me to tell Madanânda Pandit to take with him to the houses of Asad Sâhib and other Muhammadans, and to read to them, a copy

Governor directs a certain paper be read to them.

Chap. XXVII. — 1746. Contents of this.

of the paper addressed to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Nizâm-ul-mulk, etc., in which the following facts were detailed in the form of a history, viz.:—The various matters in which the French were treated with indignity by the English; the insult offered to Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi, by seizing the ship which bore his banner; the indignation which this circumstance excited in the mind of his sincerest friend, the King of France; his determination to avenge this affront by the substitution of the French for the English flag at Madras, and thus to gratify the Muhammadan public, and prove to the world at large that their honour had been retrieved; and the arrival of the French ships of war in view to securing this end. I gave the requisite instructions to Madanânda Pandit, and he visited the various Muhammadan gentlemen, read the paper in question to them, and reported to me that he had done so. When he went to Haidar Sâhib, Chinna Mudali accompanied him, in the hope of getting a present of cloth. But that individual bade them farewell with nothing more than complimentary words.

Diarist's instructions to Madanânda Pandit.

Who reports compliance with them.

Friday, 16th September 1746, or 4th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor sent for me, and asked whether I had received any news from Madras. I replied that up to then no letter from my brother had arrived. He informed me that he had received a note from M. Paradis stating that they had camped at a certain village in front of the town of Tiruvâmûr, to which they had subse-

Governor again inquires as to news from Madras.

Informs diarist of receipt of note from M. Paradis reporting his movements.

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quently moved with 1,000 soldiers, Mahé sepoys and others; and he observed that they would reach Mylapore to-day. I remarked: "Your luck is of the best. The most marked renown awaits you. With this expedition, you will take Madras with no loss of life, and with no trouble whatever. Even now the Pâdshâhs, Râjâs, Killadârs, Nawâbs, and Poligars, as also the nobles of every grade and title, who belong to the various communities, such as Muhammadans, Rajputs, Kshatrias; and the Canarese, Telugu, and other races which occupy the length and breadth of India even as far as Delhi, praise your nation as a heroic people, your king as one of undaunted courage, and your own valour as peerless. Your talent, your fortitude, your reserve, your firmness, your wisdom, and your sagacity, have won universal admiration, as being without a parallel, and these will in future form subjects which will constantly inspire the thoughts of minstrels, and be sung by them. The widespread renown which you enjoy throughout India and Europe will indeed cause all the members of your house, and all their descendants, to bless you as a scion of it who has permanently established the world-wide glory of their name, whilst it will kindle in the breasts of others a feeling of regret that their families have not produced a similar prodigy. The King of France, when he comes to know of your talent and enterprising gallantry, will appoint you to be his minister with a pang of regret that he did not do so earlier. He may possibly

Diarist foretells easy capture of Madras.

Alleges that all the races of India are now praising the French and admiring the virtues of the Governor.

Predicts that the renown earned by the Governor will be a source of constant pride to his family.

And that the King will appoint him his prime minister.

CHAP. XXVII. — 1746. Further eulogies of diarist.

think of acquiring Gran,* Turkey, and other kingdoms in Europe, and also India, and of installing himself as ruler of the extensive and united empire that this would form." I told him that he was in the enjoyment of the highest favours of Heaven, and said some other things which then occurred to me.

Delight of Governor at his words.

This created an amount of joy in his heart which cannot be expressed in words. Patting me on the back, he turned to MM. Lhostis and de Bury, and observing that there was none other so well informed

Speaks to those present of diarist in highest terms.

and so intelligent as I, spoke at some length and in high-flown terms of me. He then desired me to repeat to them what was being said privately

Requests him to repeat to them what he had heard Muhammadans say.

amongst the Muhammadans and Hindus. I complied with his request, adding somewhat to what I had told M. Dupleix; to which they replied "Of course, of course," and joined me in praising the Governor. This conversation occupied about four Indian hours.

Saturday, 17th September 1746, or 5th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—The Governor summoned me, and inquired

Governor repeats inquiries as to news from Madras.

whether my brother had sent any news concerning Madras. I replied: "I have not yet received any letter, but I expect one to-morrow." He then said to me: "When our people reached Mylapore, M. d'Espréménil had an interview with the amaldâr;

Tells diarist what occurred after French reached Mylapore.

and delivering my letter to him, assured him that his visit meant no hostility towards him, and that

* The kingdom of Hungary, of which Gran is one of the oldest towns, was doubtless what Ranga Piḷḷai meant.

the expedition was against their common foe, the English, who in utter disregard of either the banner of the Emperor, or his name, had seized the ship called after him, and that the French were marching towards Madras to capture them and their fort. The amaldâr, who noticed the details of the equipment of the party, the soldiers, and the Coffres, was smitten with fear. He looked deeply agitated, and his face became pale. It was only after he had read my letter over and over again that he began to some extent to recover his spirits. After a pause, he said as follows: 'It is stated in this letter that the expedition has been undertaken because a ship bearing the flag of the Emperor was captured by the English. Now sir, whatever articles you require will be procured, and supplied to you.' Thereupon, M. d'Espréménil told him that he was in need of coolies, boats, and certain other articles, to which the amaldâr replied, with the utmost civility, that whatever he wanted would be obtained for him. Look at these Muhammadan dogs! They have not the smallest grain of sense. They are unconscious of their own might. They became terrified at the sight of the number of our men. It was not until they had read the assurances conveyed in my letter that the Muhammadans and we were friends, that we purposed capturing Madras on their account, and that we would not molest their town, that they could gather sufficient courage to speak. These Muhammadan dogs manage to preserve their forts

What the amaldar said on reading Governor's letter.

And reply of M. d'Espréménil.

Depreciatory remarks of Governor on the Muhammadans.

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And observes that India could easily be conquered if it consisted of independent kingdoms.

and territories, because the whole of India is supposed to be under the sway of one sovereign, the Emperor, and for no other reason. If, as in Europe and other continents, each province in India formed a distinct realm, and had its own independent king, they could easily be conquered, and would soon vanish."

Diarist suggests that a force which he names could reduce all Muhammadan princes south of the Krishna.

To this I replied: "To judge from the apparent strength of their fortresses, the nature of their defences, and the courage of their warriors, 1,000 of our soldiers, two mortars, and 100 bombs would be sufficient to reduce Arcot, Cuddapah, Sîrppai,* and all the Muhammadan strongholds and countries on this side of the Krishṇa." He observed:

Governor replies half of this would be enough.

"1,000 soldiers are unnecessary. Five hundred of them, with two mortars would be quite enough. These . . . †"

Letter to Tanappa Mudali from Mylapore gives account of investment of Madras.

Sunday, 18th September 1746, or 6th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—The following are the contents of a letter received this day by Tânappa Mudali, from Maduranâyagam of Mylapore: "Those ‡ who were encamped at Toḷasinga Perumâḷ Kôyil at Triplicane have since moved to Chintâdripêṭ, and have displayed the white colours. The Madrasis, seeing them, fired seven cannon, but without effect, as the shot fell about five furlongs short of the camp. Mr. Morse,

* This has not been identified. Vinson (p. 81) renders it "Sîrappa." The transliteration "Sîrppai" now given is closer to the original.

† This sentence is incomplete in the original.

‡ See appendix.

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the Governor of Madras, has become insane, and his place is occupied by the Chief * of Vizagapatam. All the guns mounted on the out-works of the fort have been spiked, and cast away. The English have thrown open the gates of the city, and are only looking to the security of their fort. Some of the troops raised by Peddu Nâyakkan there have deserted, and Mr. Barneval has had an interview with M. de la Bourdonnais."

And of abandonment of town by English.

And states Mr. Barneval had interview with M. de la Bourdonnais.

This letter was read and explained to the Governor, who then apprised his councillors and others, in detail, of the circumstances of Mr. Morse's mental aberration, of his being succeeded by the Chief of Vizagapatam, and of the encampment of our army at Chintâdripêṭ. They all exultantly indulged in jeering at and depreciating the English. I, also, was summoned, and made acquainted with everything mentioned above. I replied to the Governor: "This does not come as a great surprise to me. The people of Madras were in utter dismay at the mere report that you had set out for Ozhukarai. Is it then a marvel that the actual sight of an army should have unhinged their minds?" Concurring with me, he asked some particulars concerning the position of Chintâdripêṭ, and the fortress at Madras. I described them as far as I knew, and in

Governor informs his councillors and others of this news.

Remarks of diarist when communicated to him.

Governor concurs and asks information as to position of fort, etc.

* See appendix. The "Chief" referred to is evidently Mr. Stratton, who for some time had been Chief of Vizagapatam, this title being that applied to to the civil officer in principal charge of a factory. In the original, the term used is "Chief Captain."

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such terms as would be likely to please him. It would probably occupy six pages to record here the whole of the conversation which took place then, but the gist of it was as I have written above.

Letter to Governor from Mahé.

About noon, a letter was brought to the Governor by some Brâhmans from Mahé, who had performed the journey in twelve days. In this it was stated that seven ships which left France this year had touched at Mahé, and had set out on their way hither. The joy which this intelligence has aroused in his breast is beyond description. The news concerning Madras, when added to this intelligence, has raised in him hopes of ample resources to enable him to prosecute the expedition against the English with success, and to place the Company's trade once more on a sound basis. The gratification which this prospect has caused to him is indescribable.

States that seven ships are on their way to Pondichery.

Elation of the Governor at this news.

Letter from M. de la Bourdonnais.

This day, a letter was received from M. de la Bourdonnais.

Engagement of M. de la Touche to Madle. Astruc.

M. de la Touche having obtained the consent of his mother to marry Madl[e]. Astruc, has sought and obtained that of the Governor also. The preparations for the wedding are progressing, and M. de la Touche's delight, and lightness of heart, are beyond expression in writing.

Diarist congratulates him.

Monday, 19th September 1746, or 7th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—To-day, before visiting the Governor, I visited M. de la Touche, and congratulated him on his approaching marriage. I thence went to M. Cornet's, where I checked with him the account of

broad-cloths taken by me, and furnished him with a receipt, addressing it to the Governor. I also obtained from him, for delivery to the Governor, a copy in his own hand of the bill, and received the balance of the sum due for cloths required by M. d'Espréménil.

Chap. XXVII. — 1746. Business transactions with M. Cornet.

Having taken leave of him, I was proceeding to the house of the Governor, when I heard that a camel express had brought a letter from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. As soon as I arrived, Tânappa Mudali, who was there, said to me as follows:—

Express messenger brings letter from the Nawab to Governor.

"Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has sent a letter by a camel courier. He points out in it that the Madrasis had some time ago planned to attack Pondichery, but at his intercession abstained from doing so. He considers it a matter for surprise that in defiance of his remonstrances, the French should have despatched an expedition against the English. He says that it is unjust that the Guzerâtis, Pathâns, and other classes of people of the trading communities at Madras * should be disquieted in this way. He reiterates his astonishment that, notwithstanding all his expostulations, the French should have done this, and concludes with an expression of the hope that they will in future refrain from affording ground for similar complaints. When this letter was read to the Governor, he, with a grimace, ordered me to send a reply couched in the following

Tanappa Mudali states that this requested that French would desist from attacking English.

And that Governor directed a courteous but equivocal reply to be sent.

* *Vide* footnote, p. 284.

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courteous terms: 'No harm will be done to the merchants of Madras,* and any offender found guilty of wrong doing will be punished by the Commander-in-Chief of the French fleet.' A letter to this effect was despatched by the camel courier."

Governor sending for diarist informs him of receipt of letter from M. de la Bourdonnais and comments on conduct of English as stated therein.

As we were thus conversing together, the Governor summoned me, and said: "A letter from M. de la Bourdonnais was received last night. When our people marched into the Governor's garden at Madras, the English fired only about twenty or thirty guns, but the shot flew high. If the Governor lost his nerve, could not a councillor take his place? Was it becoming that the captain † of a ship should be invested with his powers, and be called upon to exercise the functions of a Governor? Is there any other example of such a height of folly? These men have brought infamy on the whole English race."

Which he characterises as the height of folly.

Diarist makes a reply flattering to Governor.

I observed: "They have disgraced their nation, and you have graced yours. Moreover, the fame of the French nation has, through you, spread as far as Delhi, and the French are spoken of night and day as possessing valour and prowess to a degree to which no other nation can lay claim. This is attributable

* *Vide* footnote at p. 284.

† M. Dupliex was evidently under a misconception as to the position of Mr. Stratton, and was no doubt misled by the use of the words "Chief Captain" used in the reports perused by him, which he clearly took to mean a naval captain. Mr. Stratton was at the time of the capture of Madras a member of the Council there. *See* also Appendix (p. 410).

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to your individuality, and you have thereby cast a permanent lustre on the name of your family."

Who replies

He replied: "Rangappa; did I not tell you before that those who laughed then would afterwards weep, and that it was their last fit of laughter, whilst those who wept then would later on laugh? Has my prediction proved untrue."

Diarist again speaks flatteringly.

I answered: "Sir; did I not then tell you that your hopes would be realized, that you would acquire imperishable fame, that your name would be held in great esteem throughout Europe, as well as India, and that you would be appointed a Marshal of France, and raised to the highest rank in the kingdom."

"True," replied he.

I added: "If you will not take offence at the liberty I take, I will mention a small incident which I remember."

"Not at all," he said: "Proceed."

Tells Governor of a prophecy by a Brahman that he would capture Madras.

I then continued: "This time last year, a Brâhman, referring to the circumstance that the ships had not arrived, assured me that in the current month of this year, the Governor would capture Madras, Fort St. David, and Cuddalore, and gather very great renown."

"Was it a Brâhman who said this," he asked.

"Yes, sir," I replied.

Governor remarks on intelligence of Brahmans.

"No other class of men can bear comparison with Brâhmans in point of intelligence," he observed.

I continued: "Quite so. The Brâhman further said that when the attention of the King of France

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Diarist states that the Brâhman foretold Governor would be created a Marshal.

was drawn to these achievements, he would be so much gratified that he would appoint the Governor, a Marshal."

"How did the Brâhman come to know the title of 'Marshal,'" he exclaimed.

And at Governor's request explains why he concluded that this was what was meant.

I replied: "What that Brâhman said was that the Governor was destined to be eminently fortunate, and that, when the news of the capture of the towns which I have mentioned reached the ears of the King, the latter would be so much pleased that he would favour him with rare presents, confer on him an exalted position, and keep him near himself; and that his career thenceforth would be one of marked distinction. It then struck me that the distinction referred to must be that of a Marshal, and I interpreted it as Marshal of France." This aroused joy in his heart, and he cried out, laughingly, "Many thanks: much obliged."

Governor thanks him.

Diarist informs him that his great deeds are the subject of songs.

I said: "All your great deeds have been rendered into lays, and are being sung."

"Who is it that sings? Who is the originator of this?" he asked.

"The people have done this in excess of the joy which fills their heart," replied I.

Governo imputes this to him.

He then observed: "You must have been the author of this. I imagine that you are accomplished in this branch of the fine arts. I now recollect the way in which you were wont to listen when attending musical parties here."

"I can pretend to but little musical knowledge," I replied.

Conversation on the subject

"I know it too well to need to be enlightened by you" was his answer.

He then asked what the import of the songs was.

At request of Governor diarist states what the songs contain.

I replied: "They set forth, amongst other matters, how undauntedly and courageously you faced the days when no ships appeared here, and when enemies were overwhelming you; how the very mention of your name so terrified the English as to cause their bowels to fall out, how, within six months, you erected earth-works and fortifications on the beach which would have taken another person not less than three years, how you, having procured men-of-war from France, defeated and dispersed the English ships--sinking one and seriously damaging the rest, and how your heroic achievements have won the admiration of the Emperor of Delhi, and indeed of all European countries. I have heard that these deeds, and several others, are celebrated in the songs."

He again imputes them to diarist.

He exclaimed: "*You* must have caused these to be composed, and sung; for no others knew of all these matters."

After consultation with his wife directs a performance before them.

He then retired into the room where his wife lay, and in consultation with her, sent word through Nârâyaṇa Pillai, to the minstrels to attend and sing before them. In obedience to this order. Nârâyaṇa Pillai brought Kastûri Rangaiyan and Venkaṭa Nâraṇappa Aiyan. The Governor however

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But defers it to next day.

put off the party to the following day, as his wife was then sleeping.

Narayana Pillai relates conversation between him and Governor regarding the songs.

Upon this Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai said to me: "The Governor asked me some questions regarding the songs. I told him that some Brâhman songster or other had entertained us with them at a musical performance at your house, and that several of the townspeople were reported to be learning them by heart. This piece of news made the Governor merry beyond measure. The state of Madame Dupleix's feelings was similar. He asked me whether the songs were in Telugu, or Tamil, to which I replied that they were in Telugu. He then inquired whether they could not be composed in Tamil. I answered that I would consult you."

Reply of diarist.

I pointed out to him that if the songs were composed in Tamil, they could not be sung in Arcot, Mysore, and Golconda, but that if a Tamil rendering of them was required, a performance in that tongue could be arranged for in a week. With these remarks I bade him adieu.

The minstrels summoned by order of Governor.

I then went home, ate my dinner, and was about to lie down for a rest, when the singers told me that they were summoned by the Governor and his wife, and that two peons had come. I then instructed them, at some length, as to how they should conduct themselves in the presence of Europeans, and bade them go.

The audience before which they performed

The musicians were taken into the house of the Governor where he, his consort, his sister-in-law, and

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the wife of Pedro Mousse, were assembled. A carpet was spread for them to sit upon, and they were asked to proceed. As the songs were poured forth by the minstrels in all their melodious grandeur, two or three European ladies translated them into Tamil to Madame Dupleix, who in turn rendered them into French to her husband. They all enjoyed the performance very much. It was mentioned in the song that two of the French ships captured by the English had been sold by the latter to the Dutch, and that the French had addressed a remonstrance to the Dutch, and wrung from them an agreement to refund the value of these. The Governor desired that this should be so altered as to convey the meaning that the French, by way of a penalty, had demanded and received 15,000 pagodas from the Dutch. He further suggested that some lines should be added to commemorate the circumstance that in an engagement between the English squadron, and the French country ship *Pondichery*, the captain of the latter, M. [Puël] discharged a cannon shot which inflicted a wound in the back of the British Commodore Mr Barnet and eventually caused his death.* Certain other additions were also mentioned by him, and he desired the minstrels to attend again, and sing once more the song as revised. The performance aroused in the hearts of the audience intense

Translated to Governor by Me. Dupleix.

Contents of the song.

Governor desires certain alterations.

Directs singers to attend again to render the song as revised.

* This appears to be without the slightest foundation in fact.

CHAP. XXVII. 1746. Pleasure of the audience at the performance.

pleasure, and a flow of spirits to a degree beyond all description. They wished some other words inserted in the song, and asked the singers to have it altered as directed, and to come again, and give another rendering. They were very charmed with it, laughed, and made merry: their delight was beyond measure.

Wednesday, 21st September 1746, or 9th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—Letters from Madras were received this morning at 9, by runners. Some of these were addressed to the Governor, and a few to the members of Council. I also had a letter from my brother, the contents of which I give below . . . *

Letter to the Governor from Madras.

Thursday, 22nd September 1746, or 10th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—At 3 this afternoon, a letter came by mail from Madras to the Governor. As he was then out for a drive on the beach, it was taken to him by a peon. On perusing it, he was highly pleased. He then went to the custom-house, and summoning Râmachandra Aiyan, who alone was there at the time, communicated to him the news that the French captured Fort St. George yesterday, and had hoisted the white flag on the citadel. He next ordered that guns should be fired in honour of the victory. As the gunners and all other European officers had left the place, it being then their dinner time, there were none there but the Europeans who mounted guard, and they fired twenty-one guns.

Intimates capture of Fort St. George.

Governor causes salutes to be fired.

* Blank in original.

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The Governor afterwards sent peons to the houses of the Councillors, and men of rank, to communicate to them the news. He also sent one to me. All the chief officials immediately assembled at the Governor's house, and I, too, went to the levée, presented him with . . . ,* and congratulated him on the success of the French arms. He told us, with happiness depicted in every feature, that Fort St. George fell into the hands of the French yesterday, *i.e.*, Wednesday, 21st September (9th Purattâsi), at noon, that the white flag was then planted on the walls, that the Governor and Deputy Governor of Madras, together with the officers of the English Company, had been made prisoners, and that the French officers had established themselves there. He was so much overwhelmed with joy that he proceeded, with all his co-administrators, to the fort, and entered the church to attend a thanksgiving service. When the party took their seats in the stalls, the guns fired a salute, and the service proceeded amidst the ringing of the bells in the fort, those of the church of the Capuchins, of that of St. Paul, and of the . . .† church opposite to my house. When the service had come to an end, the Governor, waving his hat in his hand, shouted *Vive le roi*! The Europeans in the church and fort, all took up the cry, and shouted *Vive le roi!* The whole fort resounded with joyous acclamations. A salute of

Announces publicly the news.

And that Governor, etc., made prisoners.

Thanksgiving service held.

Subsequent proceedings.

* Blank in original.

† Blank in the original. It was the church of the Missions Etrangères.

CHAP. XXVII. 1746. Rejoicings at Governor's house.

twenty-one guns was then fired from the fort, followed by a like one from the ships in the roads. The party afterwards proceeded to the Governor's house, caroused, and drank to the success of M. de la Bourdonnais.

The people attend to congratulate him.

The Company's merchants, Europeans, Tamilians, Chetties, traders, and others, went in parties to the house of the Governor, to congratulate him. Râmachandra Aiyan was now called, and directed to purchase and distribute at the houses of the people, ten candies * of sugar. The Governor next told me to issue orders to have the town decorated, and the houses illuminated. I accordingly sent for the chief of the peons, and directed him to see that the order was carried into effect.

He orders distribution of sugar, decoration of town and illuminations.

Governor promising to grant diarist anything that he desires, he makes certain requests.

The Governor then turned to me, and said: "Ask any thing that you desire, and I will, with pleasure, grant your request." I, thereupon begged him to direct the release from prison of all debtors and criminal offenders. He immediately issued an order to set them all free. I now called to mind how the poor in every street, and every corner of the town, and even the little children, hooted and execrated Vâsudêva Pandit, calling him a villain, and a perfidious wretch, for having reduced the selling price of betel-leaves from nine to seven leaves per cash, and finally to five, and that of tobacco from twelve † to

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* A candy = 500 lbs.

† *Sic* in original, but it should apparently have been twelve-and-a-half (*vide* line 9, page 321).

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ten palams, per fanam. As I had repeatedly heard the people complain that this formed the only serious blot in the administration of this justly governed town, and as I desired now to put an end to this reproach, I asked the Governor to direct that tobacco and betel-leaves be sold at their former prices. He immediately summoned Vâsudêva Pandit, and directed him to sell, as before, nine betel-leaves for one cash, and twelve and-a-half palams of tobacco for one fanam. I next asked the Governor that Subbaiyan, who had been badly off for a long while, should be reinstated in the office from which he had been removed. He accordingly conferred on him his old appointment in the warehouse at the fort. I then requested that Kârikâl Tiruvêngada Pillai might be restored to his former post. The Governor thereupon directed that he be so appointed, and sent to Kârikâl.

These when made, all granted.

The Company's merchants and the headmen of the people now came in a crowd to attend the levée, and having congratulated the Governor on the capture of Madras, asked him to grant them permission for the erection of the outer wall of the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple. The Governor said that he would think the matter over, and give a reply later on. They, however, replied: "Not so; grant us permission now. The towns-people are, at the present moment, invoking blessings on you for all the good things you are at present conferring upon them. They rejoice exceedingly, and your deeds

Company's merchants and headmen seek permission to build wall round certain temple.

The Governor promises to consider the matter, but the applicants press for his consent.

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infuse joy into every household. If at this time you assent to the building of the outer wall of the temple, your good name will extend far and wide." In terms of adulation such as these did they address the Governor, who then said, "Well, we will grant you permission accordingly," and he walked away into the office room. The merchants and headmen left the place.

This accorded.

After this, the Europeans assembled at a banquet, and made merry.

A banquet held.

Friday, 23rd September 1746, or 11th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—At 7 this morning, the Governor went to the fort, and having ordered the flag to be hoisted, commanded that the soldiers be paraded, and that three volleys be fired. This having been done, the guns on the fort walls and in the beach battery, followed by those on the ramparts of the town, were discharged. After the general salute was concluded, the Governor and party repaired, at 8, to his residence and having partaken of breakfast, passed the day in great joy, and merriment. The whole town was illuminated at night.

Governor orders parade of troops and firing of salutes

The day one of rejoicing.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FROM SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1746, TO SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1746.

M. Dulaurens deputed to Madras—Reason for this—Governor asks diarist whether he knows of any one to send there, to assist—He names a man—Governor appoints M. Dulaurens, etc., to offices in Madras—M. Dulaurens promises to befriend diarist's brother—Diarist writes letter of advice—Governor tells him that his brother should be recalled—He consults Gôpâlaswâmi, a diviner—Goes again to Governor and asks for an inquiry—Governor reads to him a letter from M. d'Espréménil accusing his brother of neglect of duty—He remonstrates, but Governor remains firm—Goes with Gôpâlaswâmi to his warehouse—Sees M. Paradis—Compliments him on his success—Council held—After it, diarist, following M. Paradis home, addresses him flatteringly—M. Paradis speaks in highest terms of diarist's brother—Diarist tells him what M. d'Espréménil has written—He promises to set matters right—And to write to M. d'Espréménil—Tells him to send certain instructions to his brother—He does so—Trouble caused by an elephant dealer and others—Aruṇâchla Cheṭṭi tells diarist that the Council is holding a very late sitting—And that foundering of a French ship with captured treasure is being considered—M. Paradis informs diarist that he has written concerning his brother—And will speak to the Governor—Letter to diarist from brother—Complains of overwork, etc., and intimates his early return—Governor talks with diarist regarding his brother—Gives certain instructions for communication to him—He writes urging his brother to remain at Madras—M. de la Bourdonnais forwards to Governor letter from Maḥfuz K̲h̲ân—Governor sends a reply, as though from M. de la Bourdonnais—This justifies attack on Madras—And declines to retire—Chandâ Ṣâḥib's people ask Governor for certain supplies—And request that fitting reception may be accorded to widow of Dôst 'Alî K̲h̲ân—Company's merchants ask Governor for certain money due to them—He reprimands them for doing so—Directs them to wear long robes—And informs them that they must purchase from him the goods taken at Madras—They prefer request that prices of betel and tobacco may be lowered—Governor converses with diarist on the subject—Remarks of diarist with regard to Vâsudêva Paṇḍit—Governor declares he will not revoke an order once passed—Reprimands Vâsudêva Paṇḍit, who promises to reduce his prices—Governor indisposed—Letters to Nawâb and others intimating capture of Madras—Polite message to Nawâb requesting him to prohibit advance of Maḥfuz K̲h̲ân on Madras—Governor sends for diarist, who finds him conversing with the engineer, and retires—Aruṇâchla Cheṭṭi and others, on their way

to Madras, take leave of diarist—Who writes regarding them to his brother, and sends him a message—Sâma Rao reports arrival at the agrahâram, of widow of Dôst 'Alî Khân—Details attentions which she desires should be accorded to her—They go to Governor's house, and meet Chinna Mudali, etc.—He intimates to Governor the arrival at the choultry of the widow—Conversation as to the attentions which she desires—Governor declines to meet her at town gate—He converses apart with diarist—Refers to gifts made by the lady to M. Dumas—And desires diarist to arrange matters with those accompanying her—Promises to meet the widow at the town gate—Diarist carries out the instructions given to him—Promise of payment of any sum fixed by him—Governor directs diarist to set out with others to conduct the visitors to Pondichery—This done—Governor receives the party at the town gate—And accompanying it for some distance, leaves diarist to conduct it to its destination—Governor sends supplies to the lady—Imprisonment of bearer of letter to M. de Bury—Governor places restrictions on transmission of letters by post—Arrival of *Marie Gertrude*—Letter to Governor from Madras reports that M. de la Bourdonnais disregards his orders, is placing the plunder of Madras on board his ships and has ransomed the fort for 11 lakhs of pagodas—M. d'Espréménil and others said to have gone to Mylapore—Letter from M. de la Bourdonnais states measures which he is taking—And terms of ransom—Anger of Governor at this—He writes letter to Madras—Meeting of all the Europeans, excepting Governor—Decision arrived at at this—Refers to inimical conduct of English—And to fleet fitted out by M. de la Bourdonnais to resent this—Alleges that in engagement with English this fled—Alludes to the gloomy aspect of affairs—The prompt and energetic action taken by M. Dupleix to retrieve matters—The establishment by him of French power at Kârikâl—His treatment of envoy of the Nizâm—The effect of this on the people of Madras, etc.—The fame which he acquired—The assistance afforded by him to M. de la Bourdonnais—The abject conduct of the Dutch towards the French—The failure of the fleet to pursue certain English ships—The preparations made before return of fleet for an expedition—The excuse made by M. de la Bourdonnais, to avoid being sent to attack Madras—The remonstrances of the Governor—The indifference of M. de la Bourdonnais—The first expedition to Madras—The speech made by M. Dupleix to M. de la Bourdonnais—The reply of M. de la Bourdonnais—The resolve of M. Dupleix to capture Madras—And his undertaking to bear the entire responsibility—The meeting attributes capture of Madras to ability of M. Dupleix—And questions right of M. de la Bourdonnais to ransom it—All the Europeans wait on Governor—And protest against restitution of Fort Saint George by M. de la Bourdonnais—Governor sends by M. Paradis etc., despatch to M. de la Bourdonnais forbidding further action.

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Saturday, 24th September 1746, or 12th Purattâsi of Akshaya.--At 4 this afternoon, M. Dulaurens embarked for Madras, to manage the financial affairs of that place. As he was proceeding on board, eleven guns were fired from the fort, and seven from the ship. I will now state the reason for his departure, which was decided upon at a Council held to-day, at 10.

M. Dulaurens sent to Madras, to manage affairs there.

When I went this morning at 7, to see the Governor, he told me that he had received a letter from Madras complaining that the French who were in possession of the town were in the dark about many things relating to it, and its inhabitants. He asked me whether I had any one with me who was conversant with the affairs of the place. I replied that I had. He thereupon desired me to arrange for his proceeding to Madras at once, and explained to me that he was required to furnish information to M. d'Espréménil, his co-adjutors, and my younger brother at Madras, relative to the amount of property, and business qualifications possessed by the chief men of the place, their characters as regards honesty, the trades in which they were engaged, those who had returned, and those who had not yet done so, and various other particulars regarding the people, generally. I told him that Tâṇḍavarâya Piḷḷai, of my caste, was the man to whom I referred as being now with me, that he was clever, and knew every thing; and that I would send him. He directed that I should equip him for the journey, and despatch him at once. I promised to do so, and came away.

Reason for this.

Governor asks diarist if he knows of any one to send there, to assist.

And explains what is required of him.

He names a man.

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Governor appoints M. Dulaurens and others to offices at Madras.

Soon after this, the Governor nominated M. Dulaurens, to manage all matters pertaining to finance at Madras, M. Barthélemy to assist him in Council, Joannes the son-in-law of M. Élias to conciliate the Armenian residents, M. Delarche the son-in-law of M. Élias to act as Persian interpreter, and M. Bruel the son-in-law of M. d'Auteuil to act as English interpreter. He directed them all to embark, and sail for Madras by 5.

Diarist asks M. Dulaurens to befriend his brother.

I immediately went to see M. Dulaurens at his house, and said to him: "Now that it has been decided that you are to go to Madras, I request you to extend your favour to my brother, who is at present there. He never has had any experience of difficulties such as have now to be encountered. His days have all been passed without a care. I entreat you to overlook his faults and shortcomings, to rectify his errors, and to instruct him as to the course he should adopt to avoid falling into disgrace." "Rangappa," said M. Dulaurens to me, in an earnest tone, "need you tell me all this? Do not I know what to do? Are we not friends? You need not have any misgivings regarding the matter. You will know from the letters that he will write to you, how I treat your brother after I arrive at Madras." Before his departure, M. Dulaurens delivered over charge of the stock of silver to M. Miran.

He promises to do so.

Tandavaraya Pillai selected to go to Madras.

I returned to my house at noon, and instructed Tâṇḍavarâya Piḷḷai to prepare forthwith for his journey. I then wrote a letter to my brother, in

which I gave him full advice, and entrusted this to Tâṇḍavarâya Piḷḷâi, who started for Madras, and passed out of the town bounds by 1 o'clock. After he had departed, I sat down to dinner, then slept for a while; and at 5, rose from my bed.

Chap. XXVIII. — 1746. Diarist writes a letter of advice to his brother.

This being the day of the hunting festival, I sent Appâvu * on horseback, and my child Nannâchi † in a palanquin, in advance to see it. They were escorted by my peons and Kulasêkaram Venkaṭanâraṇappa Aiyan, who rode a horse. I followed them with my retinue, and we all returned at 7.

Attends a festival with his nephew and daughter.

This night also was passed in rejoicing, and every house in the town was illuminated.

Continued rejoicings.

Sunday, 25th September 1746, or 13th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—After 7 this morning, I went to the Governor's house. He then said to me: "Your brother at Madras does not comply with the instructions conveyed in my order to him, but goes his own way. He therefore need not remain at Madras. Write recalling him." So saying, he moved away. I went out into the verandah, and pondering on what the Governor had said, sent for Gôpâlaswâmi and asked him to explain the matter to me, by the art of divination. He said that in the circle of the zodiac the sun was overlooking the ascending sign, and that this day was not propitious.

Governor tells diarist that his brother, being disobedient, should be recalled.

Diarist consults Gopalaswami, diviner.

Being desirous, however, to know what my brother had actually done, I repaired once more to

* Son of Ranga Piḷḷai's brother, born 1737.

† Nannâchi was a year younger.

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the Governor, and said to him: "My brother would never disobey your orders. It may be that some one at Madras has reported prejudicially against him. The matter must be inquired into." In reply to me, he read out a letter which he had received from M. d'Espréménil. It ran as follows: "Ranga Piḷḷai's younger brother never communicates any intelligence to me. He and M. de la Bourdonnais have become very intimate. I learn no news." After he had read this to me, he told me to direct my brother to return, stating that he was not needed at Madras. I replied that although I could not conceive how he could have misbehaved himself, yet I was willing to write recalling him, and observed that his return now would be tantamount to a disgrace. The Governor remarked that I might send for him on the plea of some family emergency, and rising from his seat, moved away.

Goes again to Governor and asks for inquiry.

Governor reads to him a letter from M. d'Espréménil, accusing his brother of neglect of duty.

He remonstrates, but Governor remains firm.

Feeling that further parley was useless, and knowing also the specific charge made against my brother by M. d'Espréménil, I resolved to go out, and seek advice. I visited Gôpâlaswâmi, and went with him to the areca-nut storehouse. Whilst I was engaged, at 9 o'clock, in writing a letter there to my brother, in accordance with the directions of the Governor, M. Paradis, who had come from Madras, passed by, on his way to the Governor's house. I immediately issued forth, and saluting him, complimented him on his success. He replied in affable terms, and went his way. Gôpâlaswâmi and I conversed together

Goes with Gopalaswami to his arecanut storehouse.

Sees M. Paradis.

Compliments him on his success.

for an hour afterwards. I then proceeded to the Governor's house, to learn what had passed between him and M. Paradis. A Council was being held, and the latter was present at it. The Council broke up at 11, after which M. Paradis went to his house.

Council held.

I followed him thither, and said in a flattering way: "Sometime ago you went to Kârikâl, and gained a victory over the army of Tanjore. Now you have overcome the forces at Madras, and have captured the town in a single day. There is in this world no one who can be compared with you in boldness, skill, or valour." M. Paradis replied: "Rangappa! See, how victory awaits me wherever I go! But your brother is a very clever man. He has done at Madras whatever we required of him. Such things are hard of accomplishment, even here. But he managed to carry them all out in a strange place. He is careful; none is abler than he. Your brother is a thoroughly efficient man." In such laudatory terms did he allude to him. I said: "You speak highly of my brother: M. d'Espréménil, however, has written ill of him to the Governor, who sent for me this morning, and ordered me to write recalling him." "What is this that you tell me?" exclaimed M. Paradis, "I will disabuse the Governor's mind on this subject. Is there a man equal to your brother in efficiency? M. de la Bourdonnais summons him a thousand times in an Indian hour, to confer with him. M. d'Espréménil, however, neither sends for him, nor seeks his advice.

After it, diarist, following M. Paradis home, addresses him flatteringly.

M. Paradis speaks in the highest terms of diarist's brother.

Diarist tells him what M. d'Espréménil has written.

He promises to set matters right.

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Attributes what M. d'Espréménil has written to jealousy and promises to write to him.

He has written ill of him, owing perhaps to anger at his being always consulted by M. de la Bourdonnais. I will, however, set the matter right in the eyes of the Governor. I will myself write to M. d'Espréménil. You also write to your brother, telling him to discontinue waiting on M. de la Bourdonnais, and to be always in attendance upon M. d'Espréménil. Instruct him to convey all his news to the latter, and to obtain his permission to see M. de la Bourdonnais whenever the latter summons him. Bid him communicate, then and there, to M. d'Espréménil all that transpires between him and M. de la Bourdonnais, and do not forget to mention that he is always to wait upon M. d'Espréménil."

Tells diarist to send certain instructions to his brother.

He does so.

I returned to my house at noon, and wrote another letter to my brother in accordance with the instructions of M. Paradis. After that, I had a bath, and took my dinner; I then slept and waking at 5, went to the indigo factory. Whilst I was there, Kâzim Khân, the elephant dealer and others came to me, and spoke in very importunate terms with regard to what was due to them. I succeeded in quieting their clamours, and returned to my house, at 7.

Trouble caused by an elephant dealer and others.

A. Arunâchala Chetti tells diarist that the Council is holding a prolonged sitting.

I was pacing to and fro on the pavement outside my house when Azhagapiḷḷai Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi came to me, and said: "The Governor, the Councillors, and M. Paradis, are deliberating in Council. The clock has struck 8, and yet they have not adjourned for dinner. At 4 in the afternoon, a

letter arrived from Madras. What its contents are we do not know. When M. de la Bourdonnais with nine ships, was on his way towards Pondichery, at the end of the month Âni (June), he fell in, to the south of Negapatam, with some of those of the English, and whilst he kept the enemy engaged, he sent, unknown to them, one of his men-of-war * on an errand to Chandernagore. She was not even to touch at Pondichery. On her way, she encountered an English ship, outward bound from Madras, and having captured her, and the treasure of four lakhs of rupees which she had on board, as also a quantity of pearls, precious stones and jewels, which were shipped in her by Sambu Dâs, proceeded on her voyage to Chandernagore. She foundered when sailing up the Ganges. Of the 600 men on board, only thirty or forty escaped by swimming to the bank of the river. The captain M. de la Beaume, and the remainder of the crew, went down with her. This is the subject of deliberation in the Council."

That a letter from Madras was received at 4 in the afternoon.

And that foundering of a French ship with much captured treasure is being considered.

Monday, 26th September 1746, or 14th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—I went, at 7 this morning, to M. Paradis's house. He told me that he had written to M. d'Espréménil yesterday evening regarding my brother, and that he could not, during that day, find an opportunity to speak to the Governor about him, but that he would positively do so to-day. "Very good," I replied, and having taken leave of M.

M. Paradis informs diarist that he has written concerning his brother.

And will speak to the Governor.

* This was the *Insulaire*—*vide* page 115.

CHAP. XXVIII. — 1746. Letter to diarist from his brother

Paradis, I proceeded, at 8, to the arecanut storehouse. There, a letter from my brother at Madras was brought to me by the post. In this, he stated that he had so much work to do that he had hardly time to breathe. Denied the enjoyment of food and rest at proper intervals, he was troubled—so he said—with piles, which had broken out afresh. He despaired of writing any more letters to Pondichery, and intimated that he was returning thither owing to ill-health, which he said was induced by the excessive work devolving on him in consequence of the officers from Pondichery not having arrived to take up their respective appointments.

Complains of over-work and ill-health, and intimates his early return.

Governor talks with diarist regarding his brother.

Having read this letter, I went to see the Governor, who asked what news I had received from my brother. I replied that he had never failed to carry out the Governor's orders. He said: "I see how it is. I know that M. de la Bourdonnais will be constantly sending for your brother, to consult with him. Write in reply to him, and say that if M. de la Bourdonnais summons him, he should obey his call, and that he should make known at once all that passes between them to M. d'Espréménil, to whom he should also communicate all the intelligence that he may gather regarding occurrences in the town." The Governor continued talking to me, in a joyful mood. Taking leave of him, I went to the arecanut storehouse, where I wrote to my brother, conveying the instructions which I had received, and using such terms as might induce him to continue at his work.

Gives him certain instructions, for communication to him.

He writes urging his brother to remain at Madras.

After I had finished the letter, I sealed it, despatched it to the post, and returned to my house, at 1 o'clock.

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Subbaiyan of the Fort visits diarist.

Here, I was met by Subbaiyan of the Fort, who came to bid me farewell, prior to his departure for Madras. I gave him presents, and dismissed him with a letter for conveyance to my brother.

M. de la Bourdonnais forwards to Governor letter from Mahfuz Khan.

A letter which Mahfuz Khân had addressed to M. de la Bourdonnais was sent by the latter to the Governor, who received it at 10 this morning. The contents ran :—"Remain not in Madras. Depart with your ships. If you fail to do so, we shall come with an army. In the meantime, send us a clever man from amongst you." The Governor ordered the following reply to be written in Persian, making it appear as though the missive was sent by M. de la Bourdonnais himself. The answer was in these words :—"We are sojourners here for a time only. You are aware how the English seized our ships, and how they treated us in the roads. Although you wrote to them, they have not—as you know—heeded your warning. To make good the loss we sustained at the hands of the English, we have captured their town, and planted our flag upon the fort; and we have deported them in their own ships. If you direct us to embark, and quit the place, how can we do so? The law of our country requires us to obey the orders of our king, and forbids us to regard the commands of any one else. As we are here but temporarily, there is no proper person amongst us, whom we could send to you as you desire. You

He sends a reply as though from M. de la Bourdonnais.

This justifies the action of French in attacking Madras.

And declines to retire, on the plea of this being contrary to orders.

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have intimated to us that you will make a progress through the country. When you do so, you will come to know us and our affairs better."

Chanda Sahib's people ask Governor for certain supplies.

And request that a fitting reception may be accorded to widow of Dost Ali Khan, etc.

Some of Chandâ Ṣâḥib's people went to the Governor, and asked him to furnish wheat, sugar, and other articles, required on the occasion of the marriage of the son of Hirâsat Khân. They also requested him to provide for the reception, with fitting honour, of the widow of Dôst 'Alî Khân, and 'Alî Naqî Ṣâḥib the son of Taqî Ṣâḥib who, so they said, were about to visit Pondichery. The Governor consented to do all that was required of him, and told the messengers to report when the distinguished personages mentioned above arrived at Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai's choultry. They replied that they would do so.

Company's merchants ask the Governor for certain money due to them.

After this, the Company's merchants presented themselves before the Governor, and saluted him. He inquired the object of their visit. They replied that they came to ask for the money due to the dhobies,* for washing cloths. He said that he would consult the Council, and let them know what money was due to them. He told them to go, but they did not. The Governor thereupon exclaimed:

He reprimands them for doing so.

"Can you not understand when you should prefer your requests, and when you should not? How do you manage to get on as Company's merchants?" They submissively replied: "Sir, had we known it,

* Professional washermen.

we would not have come." He then said: "Madras has now fallen into our hands. The Company's merchants there wear long robes. You, also, should wear these." They answered: "We will do so, if you be pleased to supply them to us." The Governor took no notice of this, but went on to say: "You should undertake to purchase all the goods taken at Madras. Consult with Ranga Pillai about it. As you reside here, I am resolved to dispose of them all through you, and not through the merchants of Madras. Talk it over with Ranga Pillai, and inform me of the result. I will let you have the goods at favourable price."

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Directs them to wear, in future, long robes.

And informs them that they must buy from him all the goods taken at Madras.

The merchants said: "We have one more petition to make." "What is it?" he asked. They replied: "Vâsudêva Pandit pretends that he is quite unable to obtain betel-leaf and tobacco "What is this that you say?" asked the Governor. I hinted to the merchants that this was not the proper opportunity for mooting the subject. As the Governor was standing close at hand, he requested me to repeat what they had said. I stated that they complained regarding the conduct of Vâsudêva Pandit, who fixed what price he liked on betel-leaf and tobacco. He remarked: "I suppose a sufficient supply of betel-leaves has not yet arrived: hence the high price of that article." I remained silent. He next said: "Do you think that he wilfully endeavours to raise the prices?" I replied: "Nothing is hidden from you. You know everything."

They prefer request that Vasudeva Pandit should lower prices of betel and tobacco.

Diarist tells them that this is not the proper time to petition.

Governor converses with him on the subject.

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Remarks of diarist with regard to Vasudeva Pandit.

He then said: "What does he lose, if he fixes low prices? I suppose that it is the outcome of his grasping nature." I answered: "Vâsudêva Paṇḍit anticipates that if any representations are made against him you will send for him, and demand an explanation. He hopes then to excuse himself by stating that no betel-leaves are brought now, because a good price is not offered for them; and he believes that upon this you will direct him to sell at the same price as heretofore. If he really desires to buy betel-leaves, any quantity of them can be obtained." In reply the Governor declared that he would never revoke an order which he had once issued, and he directed me to assure the people of this. He next directed that Vâsudêva Paṇḍit be summoned. In the meantime, we went away to our houses. When Vâsudêva Paṇḍit appeared, the Governor spoke to him in angry terms. The man then pledged himself not to sell betel-leaves at a high price, and took his departure.

Governor declares that he will not revoke an order once passed.

Reprimands Vasudeva Pandit, who promises to reduce his prices.

Governor indisposed.

In consequence of indisposition, the Governor did not dress until noon this day, and remained in his night attire.

Letters to Nawab and others intimating capture of Madras.

Letters intimating the victory at Madras were sent to the Nawâb of Arcot, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and others. A present of twenty bottles of spirits and 100 rupees was sent to Munshi Gulâb Sing, and 15 mohurs were transmitted for presentation to His Highness the Nawâb, in honour of the capture of Madras. A letter was forwarded to Subbaiyan, the

vakîl, requesting him to inform the Nawâb, through Munshi Gulâb Sing, that sugar-candy was being distributed in his name to the people, in celebration of the taking of Madras. The Nawâb was also requested to write in a firm but courteous tone to Maḥfuz Khân, prohibiting him from marching on Madras. Formal letters were likewise sent to Mîr Ghulâm Husain, Imâm Ṣâḥib, and Chandâ Ṣâḥib.

Chap. XXVIII. — 1746. Nawab requested to prohibit advance of Mahfuz Khan on Madras.

Formal announcements to Ghulam Husain, etc.

* Owing to indisposition, the Governor remained in his sleeping clothes to-day.

Tuesday, 27th September 1746, or 15th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—To-day, also, the Governor was ill, and did not dress; consequently none of us repaired to his house. When, later on, he sent for me, I found him dressed, and talking to the Engineer M. Serpeau, who requested permission to supply 6,000 bricks required for the house of Chandâ Ṣâḥib. The Governor sanctioned this. From his appearance it seemed as though he was suffering from head-ache. I therefore came away.

Continued illness of Governor.

Sends for diarist who finds him conversing with the Engineer, and retires.

In accordance with my daily routine, I took my food, and slept. Arunâchala Chetti, Irusappa Chetti and other petty bazaar merchants then paid their respects, and on taking leave of me said that they were going to Madras to purchase some merchandise. They also requested me to address my brother regarding their intentions. I consented to

Arunachala Chetti and others, on their way to Madras, take leave of diarist.

* This entry is practically a repetition of that on the previous page and was apparently made through oversight.

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Who writes to his brother regarding them, and sends him a message.

do so, and forwarded a letter to him by post. As he was anxious to return, I sent word to him through Arunâchala Chetti that he should wait for a few days, and instructed Arunâchala Chetti to explain to him clearly why he should not be in such a hurry to come away.

Sends K. Guruvappa Chetti to Madras.

I despatched Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti to-day to Madras, with instructions to assist my brother for about ten days, with his advice.

Sama Rao reports arrival, at the agraharam, of widow of Dost Ali Khan.

Wednesday, 28th September 1746, or 16th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—At 8 this morning, Sâma Rao came to me, and said that the widow of Dôst 'Alî Khân, the late Nawâb, had arrived at my agrahâram, with the intention of coming into Pondichery on the morrow. He then represented that in accordance with what had been done on a previous occasion, the Governor should await her at the town-gate, that two Councillors with musicians should go out as far as Nainiya Pillai's choultry to receive her, and that a salute should be fired when she reached the town-gate, and another from the fort when she arrived at her lodgings.

Details of attentions which she desires should be accorded to her.

I took Sâma Rao with me to the Governor's house, where I met Chinna Mudali and Madanânda Pandit. The Governor was then in the office of M. Mathieu, and when he was returning to his own, we presented ourselves before him. He asked us what we wanted. Tânappa Mudali said: "The widow of Dôst 'Alî Khân is reported to have arrived at Ranga Pillai's choultry. This messenger brings

Diarist and he go to the Governor's house meeting there Chinna Mudali and another.

intimation that she will enter the town to-morrow morning." The Governor replied that she would be received with the honours befitting her rank. I explained that the lady looked for more. He asked me what she wanted, and I answered: "When she visited Pondichery on a former occasion, M. Dumas, who at the time was Governor, went in person as far as the town-gate, and sent the Deputy Governor and the other Councillors forward to meet her. The lady expects that the same procedure will be followed now." The Governor replied: "Those times have gone. I will, on this occasion, depute two Councillors to receive her. I will send the Deputy Governor to meet her after she has passed through the town-gate." Tânappa Mudali said that it was all that she desired.

CHAP. XXVIII. — 1746. Tanappa Mudali intimates to Governor arrival at the choultry of widow of Dost Ali Khan.

Conversation as to the attentions which she desires.

Governor declines to meet her at the town gate.

The Governor moved aside, and calling me to him, said: "They require me to go as far as the Madras gate to receive her, and they quote the precedent of M. Dumas. They however granted possession of villages to M. Dumas, and also made him a gift of 10,000 pagodas. Presents amounting to another 10,000 were from time to time made by them to him in the course of the negotiations regarding piece-goods. If they gave the like to me, I would go to Madras itself to meet the lady. Is it at all a matter for surprise that M. Dumas should have gone to the point that he did, when the obligations under which he lay to them were such as should have induced him to go ten leagues." I replied: "It is

He converses apart with diarist.

Says that for gifts made to M. Dumas by the lady he would go to Madras, to meet her.

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Desires diarist to arrange matters with those accompanying her.

true. Do as you think proper in the matter." "Well then," said the Governor, "go to those people, taking with you their Brâhman, who is now here, mention to them in detail all the favours that M. Dumas received from them, and ask them what of a similar nature they have conferred on me during my governorship. You know how to shape your discourse. Explain everything clearly to them. I will, to-morrow morning, go as far as the Madras gate, to meet the lady."

And promises to meet her at the Madras gate on the morrow.

I thereupon took Sâma Rao aside, and detailed to him all the presents which M. Dumas had received, including the grant to him of the villages of Azhisapâkkam, etc. I further, said: "Your power has vanished since M. Dupleix assumed the reins, and he has hardly received any favours from you. But you must remember how many undertakings of yours have up to the present succeeded through his good offices, and how many more have yet to be carried into effect with his assistance. There is that important negotiation involving a loan of a lakh of rupees. Then there is that marriage to be arranged. Next there is that matter which has for its object the recall of Chandâ Ṣâhib. A merchant pays a premium of a thousand or two, to procure the advance of a loan of 4,000 or 5,000. Is it not incumbent on you to study how to please the Governor?" I next explained to him what steps should be taken to secure his good-will, and pointed out that unless the lady adopted them, she could not hope to obtain

Diarist obeys the instructions given him.

Explains to Sama Rao the position.

And refers to steps necessary to gain Governor's good will.

from the Governor attentions similar to those which she had previously received.

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He listens approvingly.

Sâma Rao listened approvingly to me and said: "When M. Dumas was Governor, the control of the whole country was in the possession of this family, the members of it required no services then at the hands of others, and they were able to reward M. Dumas. Now it has lost its power, and is dependent on M. Dupleix for the accomplishment of all its undertakings. It cannot be denied that M. Dupleix has profited in no way whatever. But these are the days of our decline. I will, however, explain the matter to the wife of Chandâ Sâhib, and in the afternoon will tell you what she says."

Promises to explain matters and report the result.

I then sent him away on his errand. After I had had my dinner, he came to me, and said: "I went, and spoke to them. They agreed to all that I urged, and, under the present circumstances, are willing to pay whatever you may fix." I replied: "Why should I go with you? Go by yourself, and arrange the matter with them." Sâma Rao answered: "Your presence will be needed to explain to them how they should behave in order to please the Governor . . .*"

Returns and intimates readiness of those concerned to pay whatever diarist fixes.

Thursday, 29th September 1746, or 17th Purațțâsi of Akshaya.—At 7 this morning, I went to see the Governor. He said to me: "The widows of Nawâb Dôst 'Alî Khân, and of Hasan 'Alî Khân, the Diwân

Governor directs diarist to set out with others to conduct the visitors to Pondichery.

* The sentence is incomplete in the original.

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Ṣâḥib, and 'Alî Naqî Ṣâḥib, have, as you know, arrived at Nainiya Piḷḷai's choultry. Set out with Chinna Mudali, and MM. Miran, and Paradis, taking with you the Nayinâr,* and his peons, a party of dancing-girls, and musicians, and conduct the visitors hither."

He does so.

Chinna Mudali and I accordingly set out, and went to Nainiya Piḷḷai's choultry, in company with MM. Miran, and Paradis, the Nayinâr and his peons, dancing-girls, and musicians. There we very respectfully saluted 'Alî Naqî Ṣâḥib and the Diwân Ṣâḥib. The entire party now started for the town. Its following consisted of an elephant, ten horses, two palanquins, two chariots, two dhoolies, fifty bullocks, a hundred peons, and fifty waiting women, with all the necessary baggage. The Governor was waiting at the northern gate of the town, to receive the visitors. When they saw him, 'Alî Naqî Ṣâḥib, the Diwân Ṣâḥib, and others, left their horses or palanquins, embraced him, and exchanged courtesies; and then having offered their congratulations on the capture of Madras, accompanied him through the gate. Upon this a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The Governor, with his Councillors, went in advance, and when he arrived opposite to the street leading to Kanakarâya Mudali's house, he ordered Chinna Mudali, the Nayinâr, and me, to accompany the party, and turning eastward, proceeded with the Councillors to his own house. We three escorted

The party starts for the town.

Governor receives it at the northern gate.

And accompanying it with his Councillors for some distance, leaves diarist, etc., to conduct it to its destination.

* Karuttambi Nayinâr, chief of the peons (Vol. I, p. 263).

the visitors as far as Chandâ Ṣâḥib's house in the Brâhman-street, where they were to reside. A salute of twenty-one guns was then fired.

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After this, I took leave, and having made my report to the Governor, reached my house at noon. In the afternoon, at 2, rice, pulse, and other provisions, were in accordance with his instructions, sent for the use of Nawâb Dôst 'Alî Khân's widow.

Governor sends supplies to widow of Dost Ali Khan.

In the evening it was reported that a peon had given M. de Bury, when on the beach, a letter which he had been instructed by a European to deliver, and that when M. de Bury laid the matter before the Governor, the latter ordered that the man who had brought the letter, as well as the interpreter, M. de la Gatinais, should be imprisoned. He also directed a native officer and some peons—for whom he sent—to accompany the mail-cart. He further ordered that only those letters which bore his seal, or the Persian seal of Madame Dupleix, should be carried. The native officer and four peons accordingly set out with the mail-cart.

Imprisonment of bearer of a letter to M. de Bury.

Governor orders that only letters bearing his or his wife's seal should be carried by the mail.

At 4, the *Marie Gertrude*, captain, M. Puël, anchored in the roads, and fired seven guns. No goods were landed from her. At 5 in the evening, a Dutch ship came from Negapatam, and announced her arrival by firing nine guns. The former brought a cargo of spirits and pepper, and a letter from Kârikâl.

Arrival of *Marie Gertrude*.

And of a Dutch ship.

The Governor read that which came by M. Puël's ship, and another which arrived by the mail. In the latter of these, it was stated that M. de la

Chap. XXVIII. — 1746. Letter from Madras reports that M. de la Bourdonnais disregards Governor's orders.

Bourdonnais disregarded the orders of the Governor, whose letters he left unanswered, and that he did as he pleased. When MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and Barthélemy, questioned his arbitrary conduct, M. de la Bourdonnais—so the letter ran—browbeat them, told them that it was no concern of theirs, directed them to confine themselves to their proper business of keeping accounts, and said that he would answer to the Company for his conduct.

Is placing the plunder of Madras on board his ships.

The letter further stated that M. de la Bourdonnais had put on board his ships red-wood, piece-goods, articles of merchandise, specie, heavy pieces of ordnance, and other stores, from both the fort and the town, that he had ransomed Fort St. George to the English for 11 lakhs of pagodas, leaving them in possession of the small pieces of artillery and a quantity of powder and shot, that he had obtained from them a bond in which they promised to pay the ransom money in two years, that he himself had resolved to sail for Mascareigne, and in his hurry was doing everything irregularly, and that MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens and Barthélemy, irritated at his insubordinate and self-willed conduct, had betaken themselves to Mylapore.

And has ransomed the fort for 11 lakhs of pagodas to be paid in two years.

M. d'Espréménil, and others said to have betaken themselves to Mylapore.

The perusal of this communication threw M. Dupleix into a state of great anxiety. Just then, a letter from M. de la Bourdonnais, addressed to the Governor, arrived from Madras. In it he stated that he had decided to seize all the merchandise, money, and valuables, belonging to the Company

Letter from M. de la Bourdonnais arrives.

there, to take from the Armenians only half their treasure, to take possession of half the ammunition, cannon, muskets, spears, swords, and other arms found in the fort, leaving the other half to the English, and to restore the fort to them on their executing an undertaking to pay 11 lakhs of pagodas in two years, and engaging never more to fight against the French. The anger and vexation of the Governor, on reading this letter cannot be adequately described.

States the measures which he is taking.

And terms of ransom.

Anger of Governor at this.

Friday, 30th September 1746, or 18th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—At 7 this morning, I went to the arecanut storehouse. The Governor wrote a letter to Madras, gave it and his seal to some peons, and instructed them to post the former after having shown the latter to those at the post office.

He writes a letter to Madras.

At 8, a meeting of all the Europeans in the town—the Governor excepted—was held at the house of the Deputy Governor. It consisted of the Councillors, factors, captains of the soldiers and of the ships, priests, subordinate merchants, and others. The decision arrived at by the meeting was to the following effect:—

Meeting of all the Europeans, with the exception of Governor.

"We hear—so it has been represented to us—that M. de la Bourdonnais contravenes the orders of the Governor, and unlawfully favours the English at Madras. It was, in time past, decided that there should be no war in India between the English and French, but the English, disregarding this, have captured many ships on the high seas, and have

Decision arrived at at this.

Refers to inimical conduct of the English

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even offered insults to the French at Pondichery and other seaport towns. The result of these irregularities on the part of the English, and of the letters written by them taunting the French, has been to induce the inhabitants of this country—from Arcot to the Niẓâm's dominions—to think highly of the prowess of the English, and disparagingly of that of the French. M. de la Bourdonnais left Mascareigne with nine ships, and notwithstanding that he had a full complement of men and munitions of war on board, was making his way slowly, and with much trouble, towards Pondichery. At this time, he fell in with six English men-of-war, which had been long at sea, and were therefore by no means fit for an encounter. When the fleets engaged, M. de la Bourdonnais, instead of defeating the English, and capturing their ships, fled from them, and arrived with his fleet at Pondichery.

And to fleet fitted out by M. de la Bourdonnais to resent this.

Alleges that in engagement with English, this fled.

"For two years the French ships on their way to various ports were captured, and no others arrived from France. The treasury in the fort was depleted of money. The English acted illegally in various ways, and the prestige of the French was totally lost. Their credit was gone, and no one would advance money to the Government. But, when all looked gloomy for Pondichery, M. Dupleix brought his energies to bear, and turned the tide of misfortune. Possessed of riches, courage, an indomitable will, and a spirit which refused—even in this time of trouble—to look upon the English

Alludes to the gloomy aspect of affairs.

The prompt and energetic action taken by M. Dupleix to retrieve the position.

otherwise than with contempt, M. Dupleix rose superior to the occasion, lavished his wealth, repaired the fort and ramparts, enlisted Mahé sepoys and others, secretly collected provisions for the army, and, to prevent the desertion of Pondichery by its inhabitants, gave employment to every one of them.

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"During this anxious period, a disturbance occurred at Kârikâl which was fomented by the people of Tanjore. M. Dupleix overcame the Tanjoreans, established his power firmly in Kârikâl, and made the name of the French once more a terror to their enemies. And when a man of such consequence as the Nizâm encamped with his 70,000 horse at Trichinopoly, and sent his chief subahdar to make apologies for his unjustifiable conduct, M. Dupleix would not receive them, and seizing his litter drove the envoy out with ignominy. He pursued the Nizâm's men as far as the limits of the town of Cuddalore, and so terrified the people of Madras and Cuddalore, that they fled, neither eating by day nor sleeping by night. M. Dupleix's fame now was such that so mighty a personage as Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the subahdar of Arcot, repaired voluntarily to Pondichery, and sought the alliance of this great, and valourous man.

The defeat by him of the Tanjoreans and establishment of French power at Karikal.

His treatment of the envoy of the Nizam.

The effect of this on the people of Madras, etc.

The fame which he thus acquired.

"When M. de la Bourdonnais arrived at Pondichery, M. Dupleix encouraged him with his advice, placed on board his ships a great number of men with a large quantity of stores, and sent him out to

The assistance afforded by him to M. de la Bourdonnais.

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1746.

The abject conduct of the Dutch at Negapatam towards the French.

capture and bring in the five English ships which were reported to be hovering about. The news of the fitting out of this expedition was conveyed to the people of Negapatam, who forthwith began to tremble. So they entertained M. de la Bourdonnais at a dinner, paid 15,000 pagodas, the value of the French ships which they had purchased from the English, obtained a safe-conduct for their vessels sailing on the high seas, and treated the French with every mark of respect and civility. At that time, the five English ships approached Negapatam, and their crews, obtaining tidings of the attentions shown to the French by the Dutch, and seeing the formidable array of the French fleet, sailed away in the night. Instead of pursuing and capturing the enemy, M. de la Bourdonnais returned with his fleet to Pondichery.

The flight of English ships from French fleet, and failure to pursue them.

The preparations for an expedition, made before return of the fleet to Pondichery.

"Before his arrival, however, M. Dupleix had embarked French soldiers, Coffres, Mahé Muhammadans, Carnatic sepoys, and other troops, on board the ships, native craft, and sloops lying in the roads. He moreover had ordered that horses, palanquins, powder, ball, shot, shells, liquors, sheep, fowls, pigs, vegetables, water, salt, ladders, spades, pickaxes, knives, and all other military stores, together with tents, tent-pegs, tent-ropes, rush candles, blue lights, rockets, spears, muskets, guns, and mortars, should be conveyed on board in such quantities, and in such numbers, that in any emergency, nothing might be found wanting. Seeing the preparations

made, M. de la Bourdonnais was seized with fear lest the Governor should order him to attack Madras; so he feigned illness, and proceeding to Ozhukarai, took to his bed.

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Excuse of M. de la Bourdonnais, to avoid being sent to attack Madras.

"The Governor was astonished, and wondering within himself how M. de la Bourdonnais could act in this manner, when he had made all the necessary preparations for a war, went to see him, and, in a friendly tone, remonstrated with him not once, but ten times. He employed others, also, to advise M. de la Bourdonnais on the subject. But he would not listen to any one. He only ordered his ships to go on a cruise. The eight which formed his fleet proceeded without mishap to Madras, and engaged the shipping in the roads there. The English directed the guns of the fort against the French. Charging the English with being the aggressors, the French fleet hauled off, and having made two captures, arrived with their prizes at Pondichery.

The remonstrances of the Governor.

The indifference of M. de la Bourdonnais.

The first expedition of the fleet to Madras.

The repulse of this.

"M. Dupleix again sent for M. de la Bourdonnais, and gathering about him the Councillors and other men of rank, said as follows: 'The English have committed many illegal acts. The King of France, with the object of deposing the present King of England, and raising another to the throne, has invaded the English dominions, and conquering them all, made the French name famous for ever, has captured all the English forts, has deprived the English of their strength, has destroyed many people, and as the avenger of wrongs, is

The speech to M. de la Bourdonnais made by M. Dupleix before the Council.

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The speech made by M. Dupliex to M. de la Bourdonnais before the Council—*cont.*

now about to place on the English throne the person whom he befriended. The English on the coast of India have however employed four pirate-ships to prowl about the sea, on the plea that they belonged to their former king, and have succeeded in capturing four or five country vessels. They write to all the men of rank in this country, magnifying their achievements. Hence the glory of our King has become clouded here. We have, therefore, for the last two years been making vast preparations for war. Madras is one of the largest of the towns possessed by the English on the Indian coast. It has been in their possession for one hundred and six years, and it is a place of great strength, the reputation of which is known even to the Emperor of Delhi. We have made all the requisite preparations for capturing it within a very brief space of time: if we succeed, and plant the French flag over it, the pride of our foes the English will be humbled, and the fame of our rule will reach even the ears of the Emperor of Delhi. We have now sent proper men to Madras, and have fixed upon the sites for the encampment for our forces, the points at which the guns should be placed in position to cannonade the fort, and the spots where the walls can be scaled. We have even nominated the Councillors and executive officers, who have been ordered to set out for Madras. It only remains for you to start with the attacking force. We have arranged all else. Every detail will be carried

out by the men whom we have already sent. Accompany the expedition yourself, if you so desire, or give directions to the officers of your fleet to take part in it.'

The reply of M. de la Bourdonnais.

"To this speech of the Governor, M. de la Bourdonnais replied: 'I have no orders to engage the enemy on land. You however direct me to attack a very large and powerful place, thinking to crush it as you would a mosquito beneath your heel. I do not know whether the result will be a victory, or a defeat. If we sustain a reverse, will not the Company turn round, and ask, 'Who authorized you to undertake this expedition, waste so much money, and sacrifice the lives of so many men? If, therefore, you will give me a written statement signed by you, taking all the responsibility on yourself—whether the expedition end in victory or defeat—I have no objection to accompany it.'

Which points out that in case of a reverse the Company might take those responsible to task.

And states his willingness to accompany the expedition on a certain condition.

"M. Dupleix exclaimed: 'The English have insulted the French, have captured their ships on the Indian coast, and have fired at them from their fort. To render the name of the French feared by every one in this country, and to uphold the reputation of our King, and the interests of the Company, I am now resolved to capture Madras, and to seize and deal with the English there, as they deserve. I will not leave them alone. You need not take the responsibility of the expedition on yourself. Whatever comes: whether it be weal, or woe, I, alone,

The resolve of M. Dupleix to capture Madras.

His undertaking to bear the entire responsibility.

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And the delivery to M. de la Bourdonnais of paper to this effect.

will be accountable to the Company. You have no part, or lot, in the matter.' He signed a document to this effect, and delivered it to M. de la Bourdonnais, who secured it, and went with the expedition.

Providence has blessed the efforts and the precautions taken by General Dupleix, and the English, being unable to sustain even a day's attack, have evacuated Fort St. George. Now, how does the credit of this success lie with M. de la Bourdonnais? The victory was solely due to the foresight of M. Dupleix. It is now reported that M. de la Bourdonnais has decided to restore the fort to the English, and grant them liberty, and to take with him the merchandise and gold and silver found there. He also declares that he will answer for his proceedings to the Company. What right has M. de la Bourdonnais to do anything of the kind?"

The meeting attributes capture of Madras solely to ability of M. Dupleix.

And questions the right of M. de la Bourdonnais to ransom it.

Such were the remarks made, and questions asked, by the assembly, at the Deputy Governor's house. The discussion of them lasted until 11 o'clock; and at noon all the Europeans went to the Governor's house, and made the following representation to him: "We live under the flag of the French King, and are bound to uphold his honour. The English have done us many wrongs, and have even insulted us. You have now by the capture of Madras, lowered the English pride, and have established for ever the fame of the King of France, and this will reach the ears of the Emperor of Delhi. The fall of Madras is due to your superior skill, and

All the Europeans wait upon the Governor.

Attribute to him all the merit of the capture of Madras.

forethought; and it was not possible for any one else to have achieved the success which you have. Now we hear that M. de la Bourdonnais is treating with the English for the return of Fort St. George to them. If he has restored it, we dare not show our faces in this Muhammadan kingdom. All our glory will have departed. What does he mean by making restitution of Fort St. George, which was captured only after a severe struggle, and the taking of which has greatly added to our reputation? We have come to you to protest against his proceedings."

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1746. And protest against restitution of Fort St. George by M. de la Bourdonnais.

On hearing the representation of the Europeans, M. Dupleix assured them that he would not accord his sanction to any measures of which they disapproved, and told them that he would forthwith send a letter to M. de la Bourdonnais forbidding him to proceed further. The Governor retained with him the Deputy Governor, M. Miran, M. Guilliard, M. Le Maire, M. Bruyères, and M. Paradis, and sent the remainder of the party that had waited upon him away. He then summoned the younger M. Miran, M. Auger, and M. de Bury; and having written a despatch to M. de la Bourdonnais on the lines suggested by the deputation, directed M. Paradis, M. de Bury, M. Desmarêts the greffier, and M. Bruyères, to proceed by ship to Madras. They set sail at 4 in the evening.

M. Dupleix assures them that he will not sanction anything of which they disapprove.

And sends by M. Paradis and others a despatch to M. de la Bourdonnais forbidding further action.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FROM OCTOBER 1ST, 1746, TO OCTOBER 10TH, 1746.

Anger of Governor at conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais—Governor occupied with Council, etc. and therefore unable to see diarist and others—In consequence of attitude of M. de la Bourdonnais, M. d'Espréménil invested with supreme power at Madras—Imprisonment of M. de la Bourdonnais, if he refuse to recognise this, ordered—Speculations of Governor and others as to whether he will obey—Talk as to expected arrival of ships from Mahé—Banns of marriage of M. de la Touche and Mademoiselle Astruc published—Diarist waits on M. Dubois—Who condemns the conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais—Expresses belief that he has rendered himself liable to punishment—And the opinion that expected despatches will throw further light on the matter—Letters to Governor from Râjâ of Travancore, and French priests—The former refers to battle between French and English fleets—Governor angry with Tânappa Mudali for persisting in translating this—He withdraws—Governor mentions to diarist doings of M. de la Bourdonnais—Whom he accuses of enriching himself with spoils of Madras—Further conversation—MM. de Mainville and Bouchet arrive from Madras—Former returns with despatch from Council—Letters from M. d'Espréménil and others—Account in these of interview between M. Paradis, etc., and M. de la Bourdonnais—And consequent discussion—Letters report also that supreme authority then claimed for M. d'Espréménil—That attacking force was called upon to take oath of allegiance—That M. de la Bourdonnais was called upon to submit on pain of arrest—That M. d'Espréménil took charge—And that Mr. Morse and others were informed that they were prisoners—Council forwards replies—Sits again, and sends another despatch—Diarist fails to see Governor—Writes to his brother—Sends for certain elephant dealers—Settles accounts with them—And takes receipts—Misfortunes of Muttaiya Piḷḷai—He applies for permission to reside at Pondichery—This granted on certain conditions—Council meets, and forwards despatches to Madras—Sitting resumed, and further despatches sent—Peons sent out by Madame Dupleix to seize all letters from Madras—Reinforcement for Madras—M. Bonneau, who had been imprisoned by M. de la Bourdonnais, returns—On his arrival, Council held—M. de la Touche tells diarist how M. de la Bourdonnais invited M. d'Espréménil, etc., to dinner—Made an excuse for embarking the troops—And on their objecting, arrested some, and continued the embarkation—Opinion of M. de la Touche as to intentions of M. de la Bourdonnais—He refers to action of M. Dupleix—And to the effect of the disobedience of M. de la Bourdonnais—Movements of ships which

left France in February 1746—Arrival of three of these—The cargoes landed from them—The ships bring news of the war between English and French, and successes of the latter—M. Dumas reported to be in good health—M. Dupleix proposes to visit Madras—Opinion of diarist on this point—He furnishes Suga Sing with a draft—Officer sent with despatch to M. de la Bourdonnais—News of dismissals of Comptroller-General, and M. de Fulvy—Return of Muttaiya Piḷḷai—Account of his previous conduct—His return an illustration of the powerlessness of the human will—Why he fled to Vazhudâvûr—And there decided to return to Pondichery—Every one visits him on his return—Diarist finds him much changed—His return a source of rejoicing to all, save a few—Arrangements regarding certain records—M. d'Auteuil returns from Madras—Letters from diarist's brother—These state that M. de la Bourdonnais had proclaimed rendition of the fort —Had told the merchants that they should obtain their keys from Mr. Morse—And was hurriedly shipping merchandise—Also mention amount of treasure found in the fort, and how disposed of—One of the letters gives conversation with M. Paradis, and begs for recall —Diarist sends replies—Brother's letter reports death of Francisco Pereira—Loss occasioned to diarist by this—History of this man—His dishonest conduct, and flight to Arcot—His treachery to his master, Chandâ Ṣâḥib—His subsequent career, and death—Medical attendant of V. Narasinga Râjâ observes alarming symptoms and returns to Pondichery—States to diarist that case is hopeless—Congratulations to Governor from Taqî Ṣâḥib, etc., on fall of Madras—He refuses to allow this to be translated—Reason for this—What M. de la Bourdonnais did at Madras to defeat intentions of M. Dupleix—His conduct towards the Governor—Steps taken by him to secure the spoils of Madras for himself—Estimates of the plunder obtained by him—Diarist sets this down at a crore of pagodas—Capture of Madras entirely due, in his opinion, to M. Dupleix—M. de la Bourdonnais considered to have snapped up the fruits of this—The loss by M. Dupleix of this opportunity attributed to perverse fate—Amount of ransom paid by English—Report of early return of M. d'Espréménil.

Saturday, 1st October 1746, or 19th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—The Governor was engaged in the following way to-day. As M. de la Bourdonnais had ignored the authority of MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and Barthélemy, who were sent by the Governor to administer affairs at Madras, and had intimated to them that they had no business there, and that if they wished to stay they should remain aloof, and as

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1746.

Anger of Governor at conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais.

he had, in absolute disobedience of the orders of the Council at Pondichery, restored Madras to the English for a sum of money, and disposed as he thought fit of the merchandise which he found there, the Governor was deeply vexed, and was busily engaged to-day with deliberations in Council, and writing despatches. He had therefore no leisure to speak to us. Tânappa Mudali and I saluted him, and remained at his house for nearly an Indian hour. I afterwards went to the arecanut storehouse. From this, I went as usual to my house, and passed the remainder of the day in my customary manner.

Occupied with Council, etc., and therefore unable to see diarist and others.

In consequence of attitude of M. de la Bourdonnais M. d'Espréménil invested with supreme power at Madras.

Sunday, 2nd October 1746, or 20th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—Nothing of more importance than the following occurred to-day. As M. de la Bourdonnais had declared that he took all responsibility for his conduct at Madras on himself, and would explain it direct to the Company, and that the Council at Pondichery had no concern in the matter, an order was sent investing M. d'Espréménil with supreme power at Madras, and directing the imprisonment of M. de la Bourdonnais, in case that he refused to acknowledge M. d'Espréménil's authority. The Governor, and the other Europeans, were engaged to-day in discussing this subject. They did nothing but speculate on the probable conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais; whether he would obey the order of the Council, or whether, relying on his strength, he would defy it, and command those who conveyed the order to him to depart. There was, also, much

Imprisonment of M. de la Bourdonnais, if he refuses to recognise this, ordered.

Speculations of Governor and others as to whether he will obey.

talk as to the expected arrival of three ships which had been ordered to sail from Mahé, and doubts were expressed whether they would reach Pondichery by the end of October. As for me, I passed my day in the usual round of business.

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1746. Talk as to expected arrival of ships from Mahé.

This morning, the first banns of the marriage contemplated between M. de la Touche, and the younger sister of M. Astruc, the present Deputy Governor of Porto Novo, were published in the church.

Banns of marriage of M. de la Touche and Mdlle. Astruc published.

I did not go to the Governor's house, as I went to see M. Dubois in the morning, and after chatting with him proceeded at 10, to the arecanut store-house.

Tuesday, 4th October 1746, or 22nd Purattâsi of Akshaya.—I waited on M. Dubois. In the course of conversation with him, he expressed his opinion that M. de la Bourdonnais was to blame in disobeying the orders of M. Dupleix, and concluding terms with the English, that he was wrong in permitting Madras to be ransomed for 11 lakhs of pagodas, and that he acted improperly in setting aside the authority of the Councillors who were sent from Pondichery, and in declaring to them that their presence in the fort was not required, that his authority there was supreme, that he alone was responsible to the Company, and that the Council had no control over his actions. M. Dubois further said that as the orders of the King and his ministers expressly laid down that the authority

Diarist waits on M. Dubois.

Who condemns the conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Expresses the belief that he has rendered himself liable to punishment.

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of the Governor of Pondichery was supreme over all the Indian possessions which were under the white flag, M. de la Bourdonnais had, by his disobedience to the Governor, rendered himself liable to punishment. He added that a further light would be thrown on the matter in the course of the day, as despatches detailing the events that had transpired after the arrival of MM. de Bury, and Paradis, were expected from Madras.

And the opinion that expected despatches would throw further light on the matter.

I next went to the Governor's house, and some time after my arrival a palmyra-leaf letter from Vâla Mârtâṇḍa Râjâ of Travancore, and a letter from the French priests residing in that country were delivered to the Governor. The former of these contained the following: "Some time ago, two of your ships anchored in the roads here, and we saw to the repair of these. The dubâsh of Mahé was then here. A report is current that a fleet of nine sail on its way from France had an engagement with six of the English off Negapatam, but that the latter escaped. We desire to be informed in writing whether your fleet will reach our dominions in October." As Tânappa Mudali desired me to go with him to the Governor, to interpret the letter, I went. When he began to translate it, the Governor interrupted him, saying that he knew what it was about, because the other letter had already given him the information, and therefore that he need not interpret it. Tânappa Mudali attempted to proceed, and the Governor again said

Diarist goes to Governor's house.

Letters to Governor from Raja of Travancore and French priests.

Former refers to battle between French and English fleets.

Tanappa Mudali persists in attempting to translate the letter to the Governor though told not to.

that he was quite aware of the contents of the letter. Nevertheless he persisted in going on, on which the Governor expressed his annoyance, and thereupon Tânappa Mudali withdrew.

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Governor mentions to diarist doings of M. de la Bourdonnais.

The Governor then called me up, and when I approached him, said: "Have you heard what M. de la Bourdonnais has been doing in Madras? He has restored it to the English, for 11 lakhs of pagodas. He has obtained from the English prisoners of war a promissory note, payable in Europe by the English treasury, knowing that such an undertaking, executed by prisoners of war, is null and void. See, Rangappa, how he has behaved, and how he has enriched himself with the spoils of Madras."

Whom he accuses of enriching himself by the spoils of Madras.

Further conversation regarding M. de la Bourdonnais.

"True, sir," said I, with the object of humouring the Governor, "M. de la Bourdonnais is doomed to destruction, and hence he pursues his present policy, and covers himself with disgrace."

The Governor continued: "His conduct and deeds will never be relished by your brother. He, I doubt not, has written to you complaining much against M. de la Bourdonnais."

"It is true," said I; "many are the expressions by him of entire disapproval of all that M. de la Bourdonnais has done."

"No doubt of it," observed he, and then he continued: "MM. de Fulvy and Orry are no longer Comptrollers-General and M. de la Bourdonnais' power is at an end."

"True," I replied.

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1746.

MM. de Mainville and Bouchet arrive from Madras.

Former returns with a despatch.

Letters from M. d'Espréménil and others.

This morning at 7, M. de Mainville, and M. Bouchet the brother-in-law of M. Desfresnes, arrived from Madras. A Council was held, and M. de Mainville was directed at 10 to return with all speed, taking with him a despatch signed by the Councillors. He was supplied with eighteen palanquin-bearers. I gave him a letter to my brother.

This evening, letters from MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and their party, arrived from Madras. These contained the following particulars. M. Paradis, M. de Bury, and those with them, who quitted Pondichery on Friday, 18th Puraṭṭâsi (30th September), arrived at Mylapore on Saturday, 19th idem (1st October). They had a talk with M. d'Espréménil, and his companions, who had betaken themselves there in displeasure at the conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais. On Sunday, 20th Puraṭṭâsi (2nd October), they all proceeded to Madras, and asked M. de la Bourdonnais to explain why he had restored it to the English. He replied that he did so as he had been authorized in writing by the Council at Pondichery to exercise his discretion. M. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and other officials, explained that the order to which he referred gave him full discretionary powers in the conduct of the siege of Madras alone, and did not invest him with any authority to interfere thereafter, either in the administration of the fort, or in that of the town. M. de la Bourdonnais replied that he had restored the town to the English, because the

Account in these of interview between M. d' Espréménil, etc., and M. de la Bourdonnais.

And of discussion regarding the authority for action of M. de la Bourdonnais.

His reply.

capture of Madras was planned and effected by them all, without any authority from the King of France to wage war on land, and also because he had seized all the treasure that he found in the fort, and had settled with the English for the payment of 11 lakhs of pagodas, as a condition of restoring the fort to them. The Frenchmen, who came to remonstrate with him now declared that the new order issued by the Council at Pondichery conferred the supreme authority on M. d'Espréménil, and cancelled the powers of M. de la Bourdonnais. They, thereupon, drew their swords, and called upon the ships' crews, the officers, the captains, and all others, to swear fealty to the King of France, and to take an oath of allegiance to M. d'Espréménil The order of the Council at Pondichery was next read, and proclaimed. M. de la Bourdonnais was called upon to surrender his sword, and to take the oath. They threatened that, if he did not, he would in accordance with the instructions which they said that they had received, be taken into custody The captains and officers of the ships remained silent. M. d'Espréménil took charge of the keys of the fort, and issued his orders. Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, and the other Englishmen, were next summoned, and were informed that they were prisoners, and that the restoration of the fort to them was cancelled.

The letters also report that supreme authority then claimed for M. d'Espréménil.

That the attacking force was called upon to take oath of allegiance.

That order of Council was read.

That M. de la Bourdonnais was bidden to submit on pain of arrest.

That M. d'Espréménil took charge.

And that Mr. Morse and others were informed that they were prisoners.

Such, as communicated to me by M. Robert, M. Lhostis, M. Dubois, and others, was the news received by the Governor of Pondichery. The

Chap. XXIX. 1746. Council sits, and reply to letter sent.

letter containing it arrived at 4 in the afternoon. A Council was immediately held, and its deliberations lasted until 8. A reply was written, and two copies of it were made. One was sent by post, and the other despatched by a catamaran. The nature of this is not at present known, but it will come to light in course of time.

Council again sits, and sends another despatch.

Wednesday, 5th October 1746, or 23rd Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—A Council was held this morning, and a despatch was sent in duplicate. A letter came by post from Madras. The full particulars will become known the day after to-morrow. I went to see the Governor, but as he was busy writing despatches to Madras, I could not obtain speech with him. I returned home at noon, took a drive in the evening, and on my return, wrote a letter to my brother at Madras, for despatch by post on the morrow.

Governor being busy diarist fails to see him.

Writes to his brother.

Thursday, 6th October 1746, or 24th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—This morning at 7, I went to my arecanut storehouse, where, three hours afterwards, in the presence of Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan, Sungu Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi, and Gôpâl Rao, I sent for the elephant dealers Suga Sing and Errama Nâyakkan, and said to them: "On 25th April 1745, you jointly deposited with M. Dupleix, the Governor, 3,681 star pagodas, and with me 715 Pondichery rupees. Suga Sing lodged with me on his separate account 320 rupees, and Errama Nâyakkan 300. The foregoing amounts have been returned to you to defray your common charges, common debt, and

Sends for certain elephant dealers.

Settles accounts with them.

private expenses. An account of these has been maintained by accountant Ella Piḷḷai. You must therefore furnish us with acknowledgments of having got back the money." Assenting to this, they gave me receipts as follows: one to the Governor, stating that they had received through me pagodas (3,681) three thousand six hundred and eighty-one; another to me for Pondichery Rs. 715; a separate one from Suga Sing for Rs. 320; and one from Errama Nâyakkan for Rs. 300. These were drawn up by Sivarâma Sâstri in his own hand, and signed by the two men. Each was also attested by witnesses Sungu Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi, and Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan. I entrusted the four receipts to Sivarâma Sâstri, and bade him secure them in my box, at home.

Chap. XXIX. — 1746. And takes receipts, partly for Governor, and partly for himself.

These duly attested, and secured.

I despatched, in charge of a peon, a bottle of ink to my brother.

The following is the news concerning Muttaiya Piḷḷai, as related by his brother's wife Muttammaḷ, and Tiruvottasâma Mudali:—

Muttaiya Piḷḷai rented Tyâgavalli, and two or three villages, in the country of Bhuvanagiri. Not being able to realize the revenues of these, he experienced losses. The officers of the State then pressed him hard for the payment of his dues. Unable to endure their worrying, he decamped to Vazhudâvûr by night. His Pegu pony, which would dance to music, and his household furniture, were consequently seized. His attendant Nâgan however untied the animal from the place where it had been tethered, and next night

Misfortunes of Muttaiya Piḷḷai.

He decamps, and his property is seized

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His favourite pony rescued, but dies of over-riding.

brought it away to Vazhudâvûr. But as he rode the pony at the top of its speed, it died from internal injuries, about four Indian hours after they had reached Vazhudâvûr. This circumstance caused Muttaiya Piḷḷai much sorrow. He accordingly put himself in communication with the priests of the church of St. Paul, through Muttammaḷ his brother's wife. They applied on his behalf to the Governor, for a permit to reside in Pondichery. He granted it, but said: "I sanction this in consideration of your prayer. He must however return to the town privately, confine himself to his house, and live peaceably there. I will not suffer him to meddle with any matter here. If he agrees to these conditions, he may come." The permit was then forwarded to Muttaiya Piḷḷai. This took place about seven or eight days ago.

Applies, through others, for permission to reside at Pondichery.

Governor grants this on certain conditions.

Council meets and forwards despatches to Madras.

There was a meeting of the Council this morning at 8, at the Governor's house, and the sitting continued until noon. It sent some despatches to Madras, at 11. After dinner, the sitting was resumed, and the Council carried on its deliberations until 6 in the evening, when it again despatched letters to the same destination. After the meeting had dispersed, the Governor entered his office-room, and occupied himself with writing. All this confusion is due to the trouble given by M. de la Bourdonnais at Madras. He is the cause of great embarrassment to the Council which had in consequence to sit from the morning until the evening.

After dinner sitting resumed, and further despatches sent.

This trouble attributed to M. de la Bourdonnais.

This evening, Madame [Dupleix] sent six peons to patrol the western road, and six others to do the same on the northern road, with orders to seize every one who carried letters to or from Madras.

Chap. XXIX. — 1746. Peons sent out by Me Dupleix to seize all letters from Madras.

Fifty Mahé sepoys, under the command of Major duBocage, were sent to Madras.

Reinforcement for Madras.

Friday, 7th October 1746, or 25th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—M. Bonneau, the Councillor at Mascareigne, who went some time ago from Pondichery to Madras, returned from the latter place, at 8 this morning. He had been imprisoned by M. de la Bourdonnais, but was released when M. d'Espréménil assumed charge. He left Madras secretly the night before last, and going to Mylapore, started thence, and arrived at Pondichery at 8. When he reached the Governor's house, all the Councillors were summoned, and a Council was held. Just then, a letter arrived from Madras by post. A despatch for that place was sent by the post at noon, after the Council had broken up.

M. Bonneau, who had been imprisoned by M. de la Bourdonnais, returns.

On his arrival a Council held.

I asked M. de laTouche to tell me why a Council sat yesterday, from sunrise until 6 in the evening, and again until noon to-day, and why the Governor appeared depressed. He replied to me as follows: "M. de la Bourdonnais, in celebration of his Saint's day, ordered guns to be fired at Madras, at sunrise, on the 21st and 22nd Purattâsi (3rd and 4th October). He then invited M. d'Espréménil, M. Dalaurens, M. de Bury, M. Paradis, M. Barthélemy, M. de la Tour, and other distinguished men, to dine

Conversation with M. de la Touche.

Who relates how M. de la Bourdonnais invited M. d'Espréménil, etc., to dinner.

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with him in the fort at midday. When the guests were seated at table, M. de la Bourdonnais addressed them, and said, 'I have received a report that English ships are approaching. You must permit me to embark all the soldiers from Pondichery on board my fleet.' 'No, No' cried M. de Bury, M. Paradis, and their companions. M. de la Bourdonnais frowned on them, and ordered twenty-four of his men, who were under arms, to seize M. de Bury, M. Paradis, and M. de la Tour, and to keep them in custody. He deprived M. d'Espréménil of his authority, and assumed the sole power. He next ordered that the soldiers be embarked on board his ships, and directed that the merchandise in the fort and town should be conveyed on board."

Made approach of English ships plea for embarking the troops.

And on their objecting arrested them and assuming sole power ordered embarkation to proceed.

Opinion of M. de la Touche as to intentions of M. de la Bourdonnais.

The prompt measures adopted by M. de la Bourdonnais, in disobedience of the Council's orders, lead me to think that he will restore Madras to the English, and set sail with his ships for France, carrying away with him all the merchandise which he found in Madras. His future action is uncertain. The anxiety experienced by M. Dupleix is indeed great. The desire which he cherished, for the last two years, was the capture of Madras. When M. de la Bourdonnais demurred to this, on the ground that he had no orders from the King and his Ministers, M. Dupleix overruled his objections, by giving him a written statement in which he took all the responsibility on himself. Finally, when Madras was captured, and the French flag was hoisted on its walls,

He refers to the action of M. Dupleix.

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And to the effect of the disobedience of M. de la Bourdonnais.

M. de la Bourdonnais, setting at naught the orders of M. Dupleix, plundered the fort of all the treasures which it contained, and then restored it to the English. If M. Dupleix is to derive no advantage from the capture of Madras, if his orders are to be set aside, and the men whom he sent thither are to be imprisoned, what greater evil could befall him in this world? Hence his grief is boundless. His reputation, too, has declined much in the estimation of the outside public.

Movements of the seven ships which left France in February 1746.

Saturday, 8th October 1746, or 26th Purattâsi of Akshaya.—The seven ships which left France in the month of Mâsi of Krôdhana, corresponding to February 1746, reached Mascareigne. Four remained there; and the other three proceeded to Mahé. Leaving that place on the 12th * September, that is 1st Purattâsi, the latter arrived at Pondichery this morning, at sunrise. Eleven guns were fired by the *Centaure* alone, the reason for this being that M. Dordelin, who was in command of the squadron, was on board that ship. The others were the *Brilliant* and the *Mars*. The captains were . . .† The following goods were landed from the ships:—casks of spirits, 100 bales of English broad-cloth known as Mocha broad-cloth, thirty bales of broad-cloth striped green and red, thirty bales of red broad-cloth, eighty bales of serge, and 120 boxes of silver. There was a consignment of twenty-four

Arrival at Pondichery of three of these, under the command of M. Dordelin.

Particulars of cargoes landed from the ships.

* *Sic* in original, evidently an error for 13th.

† This sentence is incomplete in the original

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boxes of silver, and one box of gold bullion for Bussorah, sent from Mahé. The bales of broadcloth intended for Bengal are mentioned in detail in the accounts of 10th Arppisi (23rd October), and these may be referred to.

The ships bring news of the war between English and French, and successes of the latter.

The tidings which the ships brought were that when they left France the King was everywhere victorious, that the King of England had sustained many disasters and defeats, and had lost to the King of France all his dominions, with the exception of London and a small extent of country, that the royal personage on whose behalf the French King had waged war against England is likely to be established on the English throne, that the war had been brought to a stand-still owing to the setting in of winter, but was to be resumed in Chittirai (April) next, that the renown of the King of France had spread far and wide through all the kingdoms of Europe, and that M. Dumas was enjoying the best of health, and distinguishing himself as a Director of the Company.

And of the suspension of hostilities owing to the winter.

M. Dumas reported to be in good health.

M. Dupleix proposes to his wife that he should visit Madras.

Last night, M. Dupleix told his wife that he wished to go to Madras, and have a few words with M. de la Bourdonnais regarding the irregularities there. She wished to accompany him, but M. Dupleix would not allow her to do so, because he expected to be absent for only the space of a few hours, as he intended to go by sea. The proposed visit to Madras would serve no useful purpose, and I do not think that he will go.

Opinion of diarist on the point.

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This night, I furnished Suga Sing with a draft upon Muttaiya Tirumalai Piḷḷai of Lâlâpêṭṭai for 1,350 star pagodas, payable at one month's sight. He said that he would send Râmakrishṇan.

Diarist furnishes Suga Sing with a draft for money.

An officer named Avice,* who belonged to one of the ships which arrived from France to-day, started for Madras at night, bearing with him letters from France and Mascareigne, which were addressed to M. de la Bourdonnais, commander of the troops. The news brought by the squadron was that the former Comptroller-General had been dismissed, M. Machaut d'Arnouville taking his place, and that M. de Fulvy, the younger brother of the former Comptroller-General, had been removed from his post, and M. Roulier appointed as his successor.

Officer sent with letters to M. de la Bourdonnais.

News of dismissal Comptroller-General and M. de Fulvy.

Sunday, 9th October 1746, or 27th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—Muttaiya Piḷḷai having received the permit obtained from the Governor through the intercession of the priests of the church of St. Paul, returned to Pondichery from Vazhudâvûr, at 8 this morning.

Return of Muttaiya Piḷḷai to Pondichery.

He left Pondichery on 22nd Vaigâsi of Rudrôtkâri, [1st June 1743]. He then represented to the Governor that the most learned of the Brâhman Sâstris had arrived from the south, in connection with a local festival at Tiruppâppuliyûr, a village attached to Cuddalore, and that he would persuade him to speak to the Hindus here in view to pulling down the present

What he represented to the Governor before absconding.

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* So spelt in *Memoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais.* In Vinson's *Les Français dans l'Inde* it appears as Avisse, but is queried by the author.

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temple of Vêdapuri Îswaran, and reconstructing it elsewhere. The Governor thereupon permitted him to repair to the festival at Tiruppâppuliyûr. This was just about the time when Gôpâla Nâraṇaiyan was seized. Considering it, on this account, dangerous to proceed by land, he obtained the permission of the Governor to take a boat, and went away in it to Cuddalore, carrying with him all his goods, abandoning all hope of return, and duping the Governor. After some time, when his intentions became known to the Governor, the latter sent for me on Tuesday, 1st Âni of Rudrôtkâri [11th June 1743] and said: "Muttaiyappan is said to have betaken himself to Venkaṭammâlpêṭṭai, under the apprehension that some danger would befall him. Write telling him to come back without letting others know." Although I wrote to him then, he declined to return. Again in the month of Puraṭṭâsi [October] of the following year, the Governor gave an assurance as to his safety, and bade me write to him again. But although I addressed him thirty or forty times, he refused to return, alleging that he had no confidence in the word of natives, and saying that the assurance should proceed either from M. de Bausset, or one of the priests of the church of St. Paul. Although he was first inclined to adopt this course, yet on reconsideration it was his wish that he should be sent for through a native.

How he went away to Cuddalore after duping the Governor.

Attempts of Governor to induce him to return.

His persistent refusal, and grounds for this.

Despite his residence out of the town, his appointment remained in his name for about a year and-a-half,

His appointment kept open.

and all the honours and privileges attached to the office were not withheld from him during that period. But the time came when he must lose his place, and the Governor must cease to invite him to return. When Vîrâ Nâyakkan and his son committed a theft in the house of Upputtûr Perumâḷ Chetti, Vîrâ Nâyakkan, in spite of all our remonstrances, persisted in not making good the stolen property. Consequently his offence was made known to the Governor who, in view to absolve himself from all blame as regards Muttaiya Piḷḷai's flight from Pondichery, made much of it, held him responsible, and expelled Vîrâ Nâyakkan from Pondichery. On the 30th Arppisi of Raktâkshi [11th November 1744], the Governor appointed Karuttambi Nayinâr as chief of the peons, in the room of Muttaiya Piḷḷai, and ceased sending for the latter.

Governor, to absolve himself finally of blame for his flight, pronounces him responsible for a certain theft.

And appoints another as chief of the peons.

But the decree of God was that Muttaiya Piḷḷai should forfeit both his position and dignity, and humbly take refuge here. This is an instance of how human efforts cannot divert the course of events as ordained by God. He betook himself to Venkatammâlpêttai, where Sadâsiva Piḷḷai died. He then retired to Cuddalore where, also, he met with misfortunes. He then repaired to Tyâgavalli, in the country of Bhuvanagiri, and took a lease of that village. This transaction involved him in a loss. He was here much harassed, was made to suffer for want of food, and was treated disrespectfully, and with great ignominy. Unable to bear this

His return an illustration of the powerlessness of the human will.

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Why he fled to Vazhudavur.

he fled to Vazhudâvûr. But as the authorities there were apprehensive that some trouble might befall them in consequence of their giving him shelter, he at last made up his mind to return to Pondichery, though he would no longer be a servant of the Company. He then sought the interposition of the priests of the church of St. Paul, and through their influence returned in obscurity, and in an undignified manner. None can understand the mysterious decrees of Heaven. Whatever must take place at various times will occur in spite of all human efforts to the contrary.

And then decided to return to Pondichery.

Everyone visits Muttaiya Pillai.

Soon after the return of Muttaiya Piḷḷai to his terraced house, everyone in the town paid him a visit. I, too, went to see him at 11, and returned home at 12. His appearance is really heart-rending; he is much emaciated, and has lost his bright look. One finds it difficult to recognise him. But when a man is restored to peace of mind and happiness, he will, in ten days, regain his strength and spirits. The whole town rejoiced at his arrival, with perhaps the exception of the Christian adherents of Kanakarâya Mudali, and Karuttambi Nayinâr. The ladies of Ḥasan 'Alî Khân and the Diwân Ṣâḥib occupy the house which is the usual residence of Muttaiya Piḷḷai's family, and one adjacent, which belongs to Mâdava Piḷḷai. Muttaiya Piḷḷai's children have consequently betaken themselves to the small building to the eastward of his terraced house. He, as was his wont, is living in the latter.

Diarist finds him much changed.

His return a source of rejoicing to all save a few.

Houses occupied by him and his family.

The accounts of Sunguvâr, and Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan, have hitherto been examined in the terraced house of Muttaiya Piḷḷai. But as he has returned, I have arranged that it should be vacated, and that the counting-house of Sunguvâr, in the bazaar-street, should be occupied for this purpose. All the records connected with the dispute have accordingly been transferred to a large room in that building, which has been sealed with the seals of Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan and Gôpâlaswâmi, the key being committed to the custody of the Company's servants. I have ordered that from to-morrow Sunguvâr's accounts should be examined in the new building.

Arrangements rendered necessary by return of Muttaiya Pillai.

This afternoon at 2, M. d'Auteuil returned from Madras.

M. d'Auteuil returns from Madras.

Monday, 10th October 1746, or 28th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—I give below a summary of the contents of the letters which my brother Tiruvêngaḍam, wrote to me, from the 22nd, to the 26th of this month (4th to the 8th October). The last of these came this morning. He stated that M. de la Bourdonnais had proclaimed that he no longer exercised any powers of embargo over the transit of merchandise through the gates of Fort St. George, and that he had transferred these to Mr. Morse, the English Governor. My brother's letters further stated that M. de la Bourdonnais informed the merchants who went to him for the keys of their godowns, that he had delivered them all to Mr. Morse,

Letters from diarist's brother.

These state that M. de la Bourdonnais had proclaimed rendition of the fort.

Had told merchants that they should obtain their keys from Mr. Morse.

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And was hurriedly shipping much merchandise.

from whom they were to receive them, and that they were henceforth to obey the orders of the English, as he had restored the fort to them. M. de la Bourdonnais, so my brother wrote to me, was embarking merchandise with all possible speed on board his ships. Two thousand bales of piece-goods were thus conveyed on board. Six hundred bales of broad-cloth were stowed away in the *Neptune*. An enormous quantity of saltpetre was also shipped. The treasure which M. de la Bourdonnais found in the fort amounted to 23,700 dollars, 1,87,000 and odd rupees, and 500 mohurs. He took possession of the mohurs, and deposited the rest of the treasure in the ware-house.

Also mention amount of treasure found in the fort, and how disposed of.

One of the letters gives conversation with M. Paradis, and begs for recall.

In his letter of the 26th (8th October), my brother informed me that M. Paradis had asked him why M. d'Espréménil was displeased with him, and that he told him in reply that there was nothing in his conduct to find fault with. He requested me to recall him, because he did not like to be mixed up with the unpleasant doings going on in Madras. I wrote a reply in fitting terms, and sent him two letters, by this day's post.

Diarist sends replies.

Brother's letters report death of Francisco Pereira.

My brother also informed me of the death of Francisco Pereira,* on the 25th (7th October). This man, a Roman doctor, owed me 700 pagodas, and 300 or 400 pagodas interest thereon, making a total of 1,000 or 1,100 pagodas. This being an

Losses occasioned to diarist by this.

* See Vol. I, pp. 47, 81, 83, 106, 109 and 160.

unfortunate time for me, I despatched through him, to Madras, some bales of broad-cloth, with the result that I have now lost so much money. But I put my entire faith in God. What is foreordained will come to pass.

History of this man, dishonest conduct, and flight to Arcot.

When Francisco Pereira first came to this country, he gave out that he was going on a trading expedition, and induced a few merchants of Madras to entrust their goods to him. He swindled them of 10,000 or 15,000 pagodas. Being, on account of his creditors, unable to remain at Madras, he moved to Arcot, where he spent twenty-five years of his life amongst the Muhammadans, following the calling of a physician. He then became the minister of Chandâ Sâhib, whom he delivered into the hands of the Mahrattas. Finding Trichinopoly, also, too hot to hold him, he came to Pondichery, and passed his time in lying, and cheating. Thence he moved to Madras, and when the French attacked that place, he acted as their intermediary, and finally died on the fifteenth day after Madras was captured. He was a master liar, and his brain teemed with villainous schemes. He, however, led an apparently respectable life, rode in his palanquin, and breathed his last at the advanced age of eighty-five.

His treachery to his master Chanda Sahib.

His subsequent career, and death.

His character summed up.

Meeting of Council.

The Council met this morning at 8, and dispersed at half-past 10. Its proceedings are kept secret.

Ârumuga Paṇḍâram, whom I had sent to treat Venkaṭa Narasinga Râjâ, went to the shrines of

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Medical attendant of V. Narasinga Raja hearing of alarming symptoms returns to Pondichery.

Tirupati and Kâlahasti, after the invalid had slightly recovered. But when he returned to Nâranapuram after some days, he heard that his patient had symptoms of dropsy in his hands and legs, and believing on this account that medical treatment was of no further avail, returned to Pondichery yesterday. He visited me to-day, and stated amongst other matters,

And states to diarist that case is hopeless.

that there was no hope of the recovery of Venkata Narasinga Râjâ, that he would not live a month longer, and that Kârvêti Râjâ was insane.

Congratulations to Governor from Taqi Sahib, etc., on fall of Madras.

This evening, a letter from Taqî Sâhib and Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân reached M. Dupleix. This was a congratulatory communication addressed to him on the capture of Madras. When Tânappa

He surlily refuses to allow this to be translated.

Mudali and Madanânda Pandit went to interpret it, the Governor in a surly tone bade them go, because he did not wish to hear any news connected with Madras.

Reason for this.

Hitherto, M. Dupleix had indulged the hope that he would be able to annul the treaty of ransom which M. de la Bourdonnais had concluded with the English, and with that object in view, intrigued with might and main. But M. de la Bourdonnais was resolute, and adopted counter measures to

What M. de la Bourdonnais did at Madras to defeat the intentions of M. Dupleix.

defeat his efforts. He excluded from Fort St. George the men who were favourably disposed to M. Dupleix, embarked on board his ships the officers and troops that occupied the fort, and garrisoned it with his own soldiers and Coffres who had followed him from Mascareigne and

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Mauritius. He issued orders that no Frenchman from Pondichery should be permitted to enter his presence unless he had first been searched, and deprived of all his arms. When any such person went to him, he asked him what he wanted, and then commanded him to leave the fort. When any one made bold enough to say that he was sent by M. Dupleix, to speak with him regarding Madras, he would tell him to mind his own business. If M. Dupleix addressed him concerning Madras, he would vouchsafe no proper reply, but would write on irrelevant matters.

His treatment of all Frenchmen coming from Pondichery.

His conduct towards M. Dupleix.

To obtain all the spoils on which he could lay his hands, he treated with the English for the ransom of the fort, and gaining, by promises of bribes, some of the merchants over to his side, induced them to destroy all the old accounts of the Company, and fabricate, in accordance with his directions, new ones which he intended to lay as attested documents before the Company, King, and Ministers. The Frenchmen here talk as pleases them. Some assert that M. de la Bourdonnais will secure a spoil of 15 or 20 lakhs of pagodas, others that he will manage to make at least 60 or 70 lakhs. A few more say that he has probably already obtained that amount, by the seizure of diamonds, rubies, and pagodas, alone. Thus the Europeans, and the Tamilians, fix the amount of his plunder according to their fancy. Heaven alone knows what the amount of it actually is. But we shall not be far wrong if we put the value at a crore

The steps taken by him to secure the spoils of Madras for himself.

Estimates of the plunder obtained by him.

Diarist considers a crore of pagodas a fair figure.

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of pagodas, for we must remember that Madras, as a town, has not its equal in all India, is called throughout the land the golden city, and as such has been compared to the city of Kubêra;* and of this town M. de la Bourdonnais has had the sacking to his heart's content.

Capture of Madras entirely due in his opinion to M. Dupleix.

It was M. Dupleix who planned the capture of Madras, and it was he who fitted out the whole expedition and bore all the burden connected with it; but like the intruder in the story, who came just at the nick of time, and pushing aside the man who was about to take food out of the plate before him, partook of it himself, M. de la Bourdonnais has stepped in, and carried away all the fruits of the victory. What grief must have taken possession of M. Dupleix! Can there be any bounds to his sorrow? A golden opportunity such as this could hardly occur in the whole course of a man's life, and he has missed it. This can only be attributed to perverse fate. My reflections are called forth by what has actually occurred; and this is only a millionth part of what I think on the matter.

M. de la Bourdonnais considered to have snapped up the fruits of this.

The loss by M. Dupleix of opportunity attributed to perverse fate.

Amount of ransom paid by the English.

The ransom paid by the English for the restoration of Madras was 11 lakhs of pagodas, but the particulars of the treaty are not clearly known. I will record them when they are made public. It is reported that M. d'Espréménil, M. Dulaurens, and others, will return to Pondichery, in four or five days.

Report of speedy return of M. d'Espreménil and others.

* The God of wealth.

CHAPTER XXX.

FROM OCTOBER 11TH, 1746, TO OCTOBER 18TH, 1746.

Wedding of M. de la Touche and Mademoiselle Astruc—M. and Me. Dupleix attend—No rejoicings—Presents made by diarist—M. Labougie arrives from Madras, and Council held—Letters to diarist from Arcot mention illness of Nawâb, and other news—Bearers of these state that complaint made against him to Diwân—And inform him of reply of his agent when questioned—Diarist writes letters to Appâji, etc., denying the charge—Encloses copy of letter from Governor on the subject—And asks them to settle matters by bribing the Kotwâl—Writes letters concerning a certain water dispute—Arrival of M. Melville from Madras—Brings news of doings of M. de la Bourdonnais—And of arrival at Mylapore of M. d'Espréménil and others—Diarist's brother writes intimating arrival at Mylapore—Low spirits of Governor—Letter from Madras states that English concealed 2 lakhs of pagodas—That M. de la Bourdonnais, summoning Mr. Morse and others, reproached them, destroyed the treaty, and made them prisoners—Relanded troops, and reoccupied Madras—And then wrote to M. Dupleix requesting return to Madras of officials—Council orders this—M. de la Tour and others arrive from Madras, and are sent there again—Governor forwards letters to Madras—Letter from diarist's brother intimates departure from Madras of M. d'Espréménil—And states that he has been left with M. Dulaurens, etc., and cannot accompany them if they go to Madras—M. Paradis and others arrive—And explain to Governor reason for their return—Departure of M. Barthélemy, etc., postponed, but M. de la Tour, etc., start—Boisterous weather—Diarist therefore does not visit Governor,—Who goes to the beach to watch the storm—And then returns home—Diarist's brother arrives, and desires to see Governor—Diarist sends him in advance, and joins him—Governor having gone out, they await his arrival—He asks diarist's brother why he returned—He explains—Governor makes remark touching M. de la Bourdonnais—Diarist, seeing that this is misunderstood, asks brother a question—Governor asks diarist why M. de la Bourdonnais imprisoned the Armenians—His reply—Asks how much M. de la Bourdonnais made—Diarist names 10 lakhs of pagodas—Discussion on this point—Supposed gains of M. de la Villebague—And of his servant—Diarist and brother depart—Letters to Governor from MM. de la Bourdonnais and d'Espréménil—Condition on which former will arrange not to restore Madras to English—Council sends emergent despatch to Madras —Return of M. Avice with reply to a letter to M. de la Bourdonnais—Contents of this unknown to diarist—His

remarks as to discord created by capture of Madras—And his ill-luck, and that of his brother, in gaining nothing by it—Council sits—Diarist visits MM. de la Touche and Dubois and then goes to Governor's house—And thence to his storehouse—W. Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai brings a letter from Kandappan—This gives an account of a dispute with certain persons—Diarist takes it to Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai—Who denies the allegations which it contains—Reply to this effect sent—Diarist reverts to the subject of M. de la Bourdonnais—Mentions letter in which he stated that he has restored Madras to English—And that this was sent before reprimand of Council reached him—This the reason for recent meeting of Council—His remark on disgrace arising from conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais—M. de la Bourdonnais sends order that ships of M. Dordelin shall not remain at Pondichery—Action of the captains on receipt of this—Directions of Governor to them—He orders meeting of Council, but countermands it, and holds one with the captains—Reflections on conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais—Talk that if it becomes known in France he will be hanged—Views of Europeans as to reasons why he does so much mischief—Opinion of diarist as to his chances of escaping punishment—Two sailors break into the mission church—Account of capture of one, and escape of other—Articles found with the man captured—Statement of the priest to police—Thief consigned to prison—Council assembled, and captains attend—Reported to have agreed to obey the Council—Alleged appointment of M. Paradis to command a certain expedition—Diarist receives letters from Madras—These describe capture there of English ship—And state nature and value of her cargo—Also mention occurrence of two storms—The stranding of *Marie Gertrude*, and wreck of Dutch ship—The uncertainty as to fate of the fleet—The salutes accorded to MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais—The action taken there by M. de la Bourdonnais regarding the merchants—And his rapacity—Letters from MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais to Governor refer to the storms—Rumours of commencement of hostilities against Dutch—Governor of Negapatam said to have proclaimed outbreak of war—And to be equipping fort—Diarist hears that meeting of Council has been summoned—Proceeds to his storehouse, and meets there certain persons—Learns that Council has decided that fleet should proceed to Mahé—And cannot at present return to France—Letters to Governor from MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais—Letter to diarist from Madras refers to wreck of the *Bourbon*—Mentions that there was cargo on board *Marie Gertrude* and a sloop when wrecked—States that M. de la Bourdonnais is overwhelmed with cares—And that certain persons have returned—Further, asks whether writer should return to Pondichery—Reply of diarist—Reported apology of M. de la Bourdonnais to Governor—Alleged remarks of Governor thereon—Belief of diarist as to why Heaven sent the storm at Madras—Popular opinion thereon—Reflections of diarist—News of Nawâb,

etc. from Arcot—Ships supplied with water—Alleged landing of part of cargo of a ship—Remarks of diarist regarding the ungrateful conduct of Tânappa Mudali—Certainty that this will meet with divine vengeance.

Tuesday, 11th October 1746, or 29th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—This day, M. de la Touche was married to a lady who is the daughter of M. Astruc, formerly the Deputy Governor of the Dutch factory at Porto Novo, and sister of the present Deputy Governor of that place. Madame [Dupleix] was present on the occasion. At night, the Governor attended the ceremony. The wedding was celebrated in the ordinary way. There were no extraordinary rejoicings, for the Governor was troubled by the state of affairs at Madras, and was sad at heart. Every one present shared the general depression. I presented the married couple with a roll of lace valued at Rs. 130, a white shawl valued at Rs. 62, plantains, sugar-candy, sugar, flowers, milk, and twenty hares. Before nightfall, in company with some others, I visited thrice the place where the marriage was celebrated. They presented betel and nut to me, and sprinkled me with rosewater.

Wedding of M. de la Touche and Mdle. Astruc.

M. and Me Dupleix attend the ceremony.

No rejoicings owing to depression on account of affairs at Madras.

Presents made by diarist.

M. Labougie arrived this morning from Madras. He conversed with the Governor. A Council was afterwards held. I could not have a talk with M. Dupleix; and as I had done during the last six or seven days, I went to the arecanut store-house, and thence home.

M. Labougie arrives from Madras and a Council held.

The letters which I received yesterday, and to-day, from Arcot, mentioned that Nawâb

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Letters to diarist from Arcot mention illness of Nawab, and other news.

Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was extremely ill, that Muḥammad Maḥfuz Khân, his eldest son, had been invested with the title of Nawâb, that Muḥammad Alî Khân was encamped at Râṇipêṭṭai, preparatory to marching against the Mahrattas, that Maḥfuz Khân, Sampâti Rao, and others, went to visit Muḥammad 'Alî at Râṇipêṭṭai, that Sampâti Rao had been presented by Muḥammad 'Alî with an elephant, and a dress of honour, and that Maḥfuz Khân, and the others, had returned to Arcot. The letters also contained the following information.

The letters also state that complaint made against diarist to the Diwan.

Vidya Chand, the agent of Saiyid Faẓl Khân, complained to the Diwân, and through him, to the Kotwâl,* that I had not yet paid the amount for which I stood surety for Vannipêṭṭu. Thereupon, the Kotwâl sent for my agent, Sâmba Aiyan, and intimated this to him. He replied that he knew nothing about this, that there might be a hundred such transactions unknown to him, and that the matter should be settled with his master at Pondichery. The Kotwâl then directed him to address me.

And what the reply of his agent when questioned was.

He writes letters to Appaji Pandit, etc., denying the charge.

I wrote letters to Appâji Paṇḍit, and Kevurvaram Kôdaṇḍa Râma Aiyan, stating that I never stood surety for any one, that I merely wrote a letter of recommendation on behalf of Râgava Paṇḍit, that in that year disturbances took place on three occasions, and that I was therefore not responsible for

* An official who combined the duties of a police officer and Magistrate.

anything that had happened. I moreover, enclosed a copy of the letter written by the Governor of Pondichery in reply to a reference made to him on the subject. I asked those to whom I wrote to bribe the Kotwâl, settle the matter reasonably, and not allow it to be dragged before the public; and I gave them permission to put two of Husain Ṣâḥib's men into the shops at Lâlâpêṭṭai and Arcot. I gave these letters to the agent of Kôdaṇḍa Râma Aiyan, with instructions to him to start the next morning, and travel in company with Kânukôyi Srînivâsa Rao's men.

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Encloses copy of letter from the Governor on the subject.

And asks them to settle matters by bribing the Kotwal.

In connection with a dispute regarding a water channel at Kârikâl, I wrote letters to Prakâsa Mudali, Srînivâsa Rao the son of Mêlugiri Paṇḍit, Kandappan, and the grandson of Sêsha Aiyangâr, telling them to conciliate the villagers to the west and the east of the channel, impress upon them that they should abide by the orders of M. Paradis, and urge upon the lessees of the late Kanakarâya Mudali that it was unjust to disturb a long-standing custom.

Writes letters to Prakasa Mudali and others relative to a water-dispute.

Wednesday, 12th October 1746, or 30th Puraṭṭâsi of Akshaya.—This day, M. Melville arrived from Madras, and brought news that the fort had been given back to the English, that M. de la Bourdonnais, treating with contempt the orders of the Council here, had placed in confinement those who came from Pondichery, and had subsequently set them at liberty, that M. Dulaurens, M. d'Espréménil,

Arrival of M. Melville from Madras.

Brings news of the doings of M. de la Bourdonnais.

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And of arrival at Mylapore of M. d'Espréménil, etc.; also that M. de la Bourdonnais was preparing to quit Madras.

M. Barthélemy, M. de Bury and others, and my brother Tiruvêngaḍam, were returning, that they had halted at Mylapore, and that they were intending to move on hither. He said, also, that M. de la Bourdonnais was making ready provisions, arms, and other supplies necessary for his ships, and was preparing to set sail.

Diarist's brother writes intimating arrival at Mylapore.

In the letter written by my brother to me, he said that M. d'Espréménil, other Frenchmen, and he had reached Mylapore on their way to Pondichery, and that they would leave on the following day. He further requested that in the event of there being any delay in their departure I would arrange to recall him at once, as he was ill.

Low spirits of Governor.

The trouble that the Governor took in writing despatches to be placed on board a ship bound for France, and the vexation apparent in his face, cannot be described.

Letter from Madras states that English concealed 2 lakhs of pagodas.

At 10 this morning, a letter came by post from Madras. From this it appeared that 2 lakhs of pagodas had been buried by the English under the flagstaff, that the matter came to the knowledge of M. de la Bourdonnais, and that thereupon he said to Mr. Morse the Governor of Madras and the other Englishmen, as follows: "You have cheated me. Believing that you spoke the truth, I incurred even the displeasure of the Governor of Pondichery. I wished to give back to you your fort and town, and for that purpose I requested all his people to

That M. de la Bourdonnais then summoning Mr. Morse and others reproached them.

depart. I executed the necessary agreement, and I was preparing to leave in two or three days. But as you have deceived me in this manner, there is no knowing in how many other ways you may not mean to mislead me." He then destroyed the agreement which he had executed in their favour, placed Mr. Morse and his companions in confinement, sent back to the ships the Englishmen whom he had brought ashore, landed the troops from Pondichery that had been embarked by him, and set French soldiers to guard all the gates of the town. He wrote a letter to the Governor of Pondichery stating that as the English had deceived him, he had now destroyed the treaty and remanded them all to custody, and asking that M. d'Espréménil, and others, might be sent to resume possession of the fort. Thereupon, the Governor felt relieved, and was happy. The Council met, and an order was issued to M. d'Espréménil, and others, to return—wherever on their way the order might reach them—to Madras. I heard this from M. de laTouche, and others. As to the private news of the place, I know nothing. I shall inquire more particularly, and write it down by and by.

Destroyed the treaty, and made them all prisoners.

Relanded the troops and reoccupied Madras.

And then wrote to M. Dupleix informing him what he had done and requesting return of officials.

Council's orders to return issued to M. d'Espréménil, etc.

This evening, M. de la Tour, M. Bruyères, and M. de Kerjean, arrived from Madras. The Governor started them off again, at 8, with orders to return there.

M. de la Tour, etc., arrive from Madras and sent there again.

To-day the Governor posted three letters for Madras.

Governor forward letters to Madras.

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At daybreak tomorrow, the Dîpâvali festival will commence.

1746.

Letter from diarist's brother from Sadras intimates departure thence of M. d'Espréménil.

Thursday, 13th October 1746, or 31st Purattâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, the post arrived, and in this was a letter from my brother. The contents of it were these: "MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, Paradis, Barthélemy, I, and others, arrived at Sadras. As soon as the letter from Pondichery had been received and read, M. d'Espréménil left for Madras.

And states that he has been left with M. Dulaurens, etc., and cannot accompany them, if they return to Madras.

When he was departing, I asked if I should accompany him, but he replied: 'You had better remain with MM. Dulaurens, Paradis, and the other officials and do as they bid you.' If they start for Pondichery, I shall accompany them; but if they return to Madras, I shall not be able to go with them, as I am unwell; please send some one to take my place."

M. Paradis and others arrive as letter is being read.

As I was engaged in reading this letter, MM. Paradis, Barthélemy, Panon, and some officers, approached. The Governor was very much annoyed with them, and asked why they had not returned to Madras.

And explain to Governor that they received orders to return only when close to Pondichery.

They said: "We all read the first letter which you sent unsealed; your second, directing us to return to Madras, reached us when we were on the Merkâṇam backwater. M. de Bury alone went back to Madras; we wished to come here, communicate with you in person, and then go." Meanwhile,

M. Benoit arrives and Council meets.

M. Benoit, the captain of the *Phénix*, arrived. On this, the Council met again, and dispersed at 2. They then dined.

The departure of MM. Barthélemy and Paradis, and the rest of the party, has been postponed. M. de la Tour and M. de Kerjean, who came yesterday, left early this morning for Madras. M. Dulaurens arrived in the evening. My brother, who accompanied him as far as our Brâhman village, stayed there as instructed by me.

CHAP. XXX. — 1746. Departure of M. Barthélemy, etc., postponed, but M. de la Tour, etc., start.

The evening was cloudy; at night the north wind blew, accompanied by lightning and a little rain.

Boisterous weather.

Friday, 14th October 1746, or 1st Arppisi of Akshaya, Constellation Chittirai, New Moon.—As the wind was blowing and rain was falling this morning, I did not go to the house of the Governor, who was suffering from two boils on the neck.

Diarist therefore does not visit the Governor.

At 8, as the stormy weather continued, the Governor did not put on his ordinary dress, but clothing himself in his night costume—loose trousers, a shirt, a waist-coat and a cap—he entered the travelling coach of Madame Dupleix, went to the beach, watched the ships tossing on the waves, and listened to the roaring of the sea; and having ascertained from the fishermen—who said that as the north-east wind had subsided, and the south-west was blowing, there was no ground for fear—that the gale and rain would soon cease, and no danger to the shipping need be apprehended, he, so it is reported, went home.

Who goes to the beach to watch storm.

And having learnt that the weather will soon moderate returns home.

My brother arrived from the Brâhman village, at 2 in the afternoon, when I was asleep. As he was unwell, he had a mind to see the Governor

Diarist's brother arrives, and desires to see the Governor.

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Diarist begs him to refresh himself, but he declines.

before taking any food; so he waited for me without changing his clothes. I rose at 4: Gôpâlaswâmi reported to me that my brother had arrived, and was waiting in order that I might accompany him to the Governor. Thereupon, I washed my face, and went to the southern portion of the premises, where my brother was. When I saw his wearied look, and knew that he had not taken any food, I begged him to refresh himself. He replied that he was unwell. I then said 'We will now go to the Governor,' and sent him in advance. I put on my gown, went first to the distillery, and then to the arecanut store-house. There I got out of my palanquin, but hearing that the Governor and M. Legou had walked to the sea-shore, my brother and I sat on the pial of the store-house until their return.

Sends his brother in advance, and joins him.

Governor having gone out, they await his return.

The Governor reached home by 6, and we went to visit him. He was then smoking, and was seated facing the east, in the company of seven or eight Europeans. As soon as I entered, and saluted him, he exclaimed: "What brought you here?" When he saw my brother with me, he rose, stepped aside, and said to him: "How is that you have returned?" My brother replied: "As M. d'Espréménil permitted me to accompany M. Dulaurens, and his companions, wherever they might go, and as these gentlemen have come to Pondichery, I also have done so." The Governor then remarked: "M. de la Bourdonnais has behaved extremely well in all that he has

Then present themselves.

He asks diarist's brother why he returned.

He exolains

Governor remarks that M. de la Bourdonnais did extremely well.

done!" My brother did not understand his meaning, and replied: "I have been doing as he bade me." Seeing from his answer that my brother did not comprehend the bearing of the remark, and before the Governor could catch his answer, I asked my brother whether people were satisfied with the behaviour of M. de la Bourdonnais?

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Diarist seeing that this is misunderstood asks his brother a question.

The Governor then took me to the balcony on the southern side of the house, and said to me: "Why did M. de la Bourdonnais keep the Armenians in confinement." I replied: "No doubt from mercenary motives." He said: "How much would M. de la Bourdonnais have made?" I answered: "It appears to me that it must have been something like 10 lakhs of pagodas." He turned round to me, and exclaimed: "What is this that you say? He could have got only 3 lakhs of pagodas." When I repeated that 10 lakhs of pagodas was the lowest sum M. de la Bourdonnais could have made, my reply excited his jealousy, and he grew irritated, as he always does, when a large amount is mentioned to him. He observed, with an angry look: "You name a very large figure; it could not be so much; the amount I mentioned is correct." I exclaimed: "Please pardon me; M. de la Villebague must have made some 2 lakhs of pagodas; how is it that you are surprised? An East Indian boy, named André, who is in his service, has made some 50,000 pagodas." When I explained to him the state of Madras, he said: "I also have heard that the East Indian

Governor asks diarist why M. de la Bourdonnai imprisoned the Armenians.

His reply.

Governor inquires how much M. de la Bourdonnais made.

Diarist names 10 lakhs of pagodas.

Discussion on this point.

Supposed gains of M. de la Villebague.

And of his servant.

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André has made a larger sum than that which you have mentioned." I replied: "If this is the case with the servant, you can guess how it would be with the master." He remarked: "What you say is right; now you may go home." My brother and I then took leave, and departed.

Diarist and his brother depart.

This evening, also, it was stormy, and cloudy.

Letters from MM. de la Bourdonnais and d'Espréménil.

This evening at 8, a letter from M. de la Bourdonnais, and another from M. d'Espréménil, arrived from Madras. That from M. de la Bourdonnais stated that Madras could not again be placed under the authority of the Governor of Pondichery, but that if he was given liberty to appoint a man to the post of Governor there, and if it could be arranged that it should be left under his own control, he would contrive not to restore Madras to the English. The Council was at once summoned, and sat until half-past 10 at night. A letter was prepared, and posted by 11, with orders that if it was not delivered at Madras on the following day, by 2 in the afternoon, each of the post peons should receive fifty stripes The members of the Council then went to their suppers. About this time, Major Avice, who had come in command of the troops on board three men-of-war which were to join M. de la Bourdonnais, and who had conveyed a letter to him, returned after delivering it and obtaining a reply. This he put into the hands of the Governor, and having given him particulars regarding Madras, he went home at midnight.

Condition on which former will arrange not to restore Madras to English.

Council sits, and sends emergent despatch to Madras.

Return of Major Avice with reply to a letter to M. de la Bourdonnais.

I do not know the contents of the letter which he brought, or the decision of the Council, which sat until half-past 10 at night.

CHAP. XXX. 1746. Contents of this unknown to diarist. His remarks as to discord created by capture of Madras.

There would not have been much trouble if Madras had not been taken. The capture of that place has been an endless source of discord between M. de la Bourdonnais and M. Dupleix, and the annoyance experienced by the latter has been indescribable.

And of his ill-luck and that of his brother in gaining nothing by it.

In my horoscope it is said that my evil time will last for $38\frac{1}{2}$ years. There is no doubt about it. If, when a town like Madras is sacked, and even the most ignorant officials have made money to the extent of 70, 80 and 100 [pagodas ?], my brother, who went there as the chief amongst them, has not gained anything, and has even hesitated to purchase what was offered to him as prize, what doubt can there be that this is only due to our ill-luck.

Return of Major Avice from Madras.

[*Saturday*], *15th October 1746, or 2nd Arppisi of Akshaya.*—* Major Avice who came from France in chief command of the soldiers on board the three vessels previously mentioned, and was sent to M. de la Bourdonnais at Madras, returned yesterday, at midnight. He delivered a letter to the Governor, and also communicated some news to him. What he said is not known.

Council sits.

This morning, the Council met, and did not break up until noon. I ate my cold rice at sunrise, went to

* This is a repetition, evidently through oversight, of the entry regarding this officer at the preceding page.

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Diarist visits MM. de la Touche and Dubois. And then goes to Governor's house.

M. de la Touche, and had an interview with him. I then visited M. Dubois, had a talk with him, and reached the Governor's house by half-past 9. As he was engaged at Council, I proceeded to my arecanut store-house at 10, and seated myself there.

A letter from Kandappan.

Wandiwash Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai then delivered to me a letter written on palmyra-leaf sent by Kandappan from Kârikâl. The contents of this were :—

This gives an account of dispute with certain persons.

"The working party which went to open the bar of the river to the west of the village of Vadakkuvattam asked me for 17 pagodas alleged to be the expenses of the work. I replied : 'You know that some time ago, when the Râjâ came with his horsemen, a rising took place, the place was plundered, and then from 1,000 to 2,000 men assembled and fought. Are we to pay these expenses also? Is it not right that you should defray them. What is it to us?' They answered that the Governor had told them that in former days Wandiwash Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai had taken upon himself charges of this nature. I observed that this man had been entrusted with some money on account of the affairs of the Company, but that my master had informed me that he would not bear these expenses. They told me that I must nevertheless pay them. I said that I knew nothing about it, and that I would write to my master on the subject, and I then went away."

Diarist hands it to W. Tiruvengada Pillai.

I took the letter to Wandiwash Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai, and asked him to read it. as a reply was required. Having perused it, he said : "We never

paid a cash towards the expenses of the working party; what is it to us?" I at once had a reply to this effect written to Kandappan of Kârikâl, sealed and posted it. I sent away the peon Pichâṇḍi, who had brought the letter, and returned home at noon. When all this took place, there were present at the distillery-house Sêsha Aiyangâr, Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan, Appâji, Nîlakaṇṭa Nâyakkan, Tyâga Aiyan, and Venkaṭâchala Aiyan.

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1746. Who denies the allegations which it contains. Reply to this effect sent.

It will be remembered that on the 30th Puraṭṭâsi last (12th October), M. de la Bourdonnais wrote a letter to the Governor in which he said: "Please send your officers and Councillors. I will deliver the fort of Madras to you. I have cancelled the agreement whereby it was to be left in the possession of the English." In consequence of this M. d'Espréménil, and others, returned to Madras. In another letter which he wrote on the following day, he stated that he had restored Madras to the English. Thereupon, the Council met, and as he had thus disgraced them, they sent him a reprimand. Before however this could reach him, he had, on the next day, forwarded another letter to the Governor saying: "I have neither restored Madras to the English, nor have I placed it under the control of the Council at Pondichery. I do not know what I shall finally do. I am as yet undecided." This was the reason why, the day before yesterday, the Council sat until 10 at night, and an answer was hurriedly prepared at 11, and despatched with proper instructions to the runners.

Diarist reverts to the subject of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Mentions letter in which he stated that he had restored Madras to the English.

And that sent before reprimand of Council reached him, in which he said that he had taken no action.

This the reason for the recent meeting of Council.

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1746.

His remark on disgrace arising from conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais.

The measure of the disgrace brought by M. de la Bourdonnais upon the Governor and his Councillors can hardly be adequately expressed. As an attempt to enlarge upon this point would be indiscreet on my part, I have recorded the important part only. Wise people will understand it.

M. de la Bourdonnais orders, that ships of M. Dordelin should not remain at Pondichery.

Sunday, 16th October 1746, or 3rd Arppisi of Akshaya.—What I saw and heard this morning was this. As M. de la Bourdonnais had been appointed to the chief command of the three ships which came from Europe under M. Dordelin, and as the instructions to these were to obey his orders, the following letter was sent by him to M. Dordelin, and other captains of the ships, directing that after the 21st, and failing that date, the 25th October, none of them should remain in the roads at Pondichery. It appears that he wrote another letter on the next day, under the seal of the King, strictly enjoining on all the captains of the men-of-war, that none of them should remain near Pondichery beyond the given time, and that they should join him. Thereupon, M. Dordelin and all the other captains took the order of the Company furnished to them, and that which M. de la Bourdonnais had sent, and showed them to the Governor, M. Dupleix. He directed them to go to the office of record with the order of M. de la Bourdonnais, and file their declarations there. This morning, at 9, they accordingly went to the office, made their declarations, signed the same, and returned to the Governor. He at once ordered the

The captains take this, and that given by the Company, to the Governor.

Who directs them to file their declarations in the office of record

Councillors to be summoned. Half an Indian hour later, he directed that this was not to be done. Then he assembled M. Dordelin and the other captains, and held a conference with them. What they were discussing is not yet known but it will be hereafter.

Chap. XXX. 1746. Governor orders a meeting of Council but countermands it and holds one of the captains.

One cannot understand what M. de la Bourdonnais means by writing one thing, one day, to the Council at Pondichery, and the next another, as if he was joking. Knowing as we do that there is generally concord and good understanding amongst Europeans, and that they never disagree, we cannot see what he means by saying at one time, that he has restored Madras, and at another that he has not, and thereby disgracing others. The ways of Europeans, who used always to act in union, have apparently now become like those of natives and Muhammadans. The procedure of M. de la Bourdonnais is quite inconsistent with what I have seen and heard up to now. I cannot understand what he means by changing his ground every half an Indian hour, that is, by saying at one time, that he has given Madras back to the English, at another, that he has cancelled the agreement, and by making differing statements of this kind.

Reflections on the conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais.

Diarist unable to account for it.

The talk is that if this comes to be known in France, M. de la Bourdonnais will be hanged. All the Europeans say so. Only one or two persons who are biased in his favor, hold that if he goes to France, and spends money largely, all his misdeeds

Talk that if it becomes known in France he will be hanged.

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Views of the Europeans as to reasons why he does so much mischief.

will be hushed up. Some Europeans allege that it is only with the certainty that by means of money he can get out of danger, that he is doing all this mischief. But as the Comptroller-General, M. Orry, and his younger brother, M. de Fulvy, the head of the Company, have lost their appointments, and as the present Comptroller-General,

Opinion of diarist as to his chances of escaping punishment.

M. Machaut d'Arnouville, and the head of the Company, M. Roulier, are not men who would receive bribes, people say that M. de la Bourdonnais will find himself in a dangerous position. Judging matters from any point of view, it seems probable that he will get into difficulties. But what the will of God is, is not known.

Two sailors break into the mission church.

Monday, 17th October 1746, or 4th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning, at six Indian hours before dawn, two sailors entered the mission church situated opposite to my house. Against the northern wall of the church there is a verandah, in which there is a petty bazaar. The sailors got upon the wall, and were attempting to break the reepers between rafters, and get in. As the court-house is situated just opposite to the bazaar, the peons who were going their rounds heard the noise of tiles and reepers

The police peons raise an alarm.

being broken. As they were aware that thefts had been committed several times in this particular shop, they gathered together, and raised an alarm.

The thieves then pretend to be drawing water.

On this, the sailors found it impossible to continue their attempt to steal, jumped into the enclosure of

the church, and caught hold of the piccota adjoining. The peons collected around the wall, and cried: 'What is the meaning of water being drawn at this hour? These are probably thieves.' Then one of the sailors jumped on to the lime kiln built to the south-east, outside the wall. The peons caught hold of him. Others of their fellows having heard the noise, joined them, and they all took the thief to the house of the chief of the peons, and placed him in confinement. By the time that they returned, the other thief, who was inside the wall, had climbed over it, and run away. The peons then lit torches and tarred brands, caused the church door to be opened, entered, and searched the building, but could not find the thief. In the possession of the sailor who was arrested were found a cloak belonging to the priest, a pair of stockings, a polished brass ball, and some sundry articles, the property of the priest. When the peons reported this to the priest, the latter searched his house, and said that it was true that these articles were missing. He added: "Yesterday afternoon, two sailors came, and asked my permission to see the church. I granted their request." The priest then told the men that the sailors entered the church, and examined it, and he also gave a description of them. As the sailor who had been arrested bore the marks mentioned, the chief of the peons said that this must be the man, and ordered the enclosure to be searched once more.

Hearing the police they attempt flight but one of them is arrested.

The other escapes.

Articles the property of the priest found with the man captured.

Statement of the priest to the police.

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The thief placed before the Governor and consigned to prison.

Having done this, and not finding the other thief, the peons went away at sunrise. The sailor was taken to the Governor, who, when it was reported to him how the theft was committed, ordered him to be placed in jail. The man was accordingly kept in confinement. What punishment they will inflict on him is not known. This remains to be seen. According to former rules, he would be hanged. As this is war time, one must await how they will deal with the case.

Councillors assembled and the captains attend.

This morning at 8, the Governor ordered all the Councillors to be assembled. They met at half-past 8. M. Dordelin, M. Benoit, and other European captains, were present at the Council.

Reported to have agreed to obey the Council.

They say that at it they agreed, and signed an undertaking, that they would obey the orders of the Council of the place at which they were, and that as they were now at Pondichery, they would act in accordance with the orders of the Council there; and that thereupon M. Paradis was

Alleged appointment of M. Paradis to command expedition against Anjengo and Tellicherry.

appointed commander of the troops which were to proceed to attack Anjengo and Tellicherry, near Mahé. This matter will be known more definitely to-morrow. The Governor, M. Dupleix, looks cheerful. What this is due to, is not apparent.

Diarist receives letters from Madras.

This afternoon at 4, I received letters written by Kanḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi from Madras, on the 30th and 31st Puraṭṭâsi, and 1st Arppisi (12th, 13th and 14th October), and I perused them. The contents were as follows:—

On the 30th Purattâsi (12th October), an English sloop was sighted at Madras. The English flag was hoisted by the fort, and by all the craft in the roads. As soon as the sloop cast anchor, the French flag was hoisted. On her attempting to escape, guns were fired by the ships and the fort. The French then got into two long boats belonging to the ships, rowed to the sloop, and took possession of her. The goods found in her were opium, incense, and sulphur, to the value of only 3,000 pagodas. It was said that this sloop had been detailed to carry provisions and other articles to the men-of-war, and that on her return she called at Malacca, and Acheen, and took on board the above-mentioned goods.

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These describe the capture there of an English sloop.

And state nature and value of her cargo.

It was further stated in the letters that severe storms were experienced at Madras on the night of Thursday, the 31st Purattâsi (13th October), and the afternoon of Friday, the 1st Arppisi (14th October), that the ship *Marie Gertrude*, and a sloop went ashore at Covelong, and were damaged, that a Dutch vessel in the roads of Madras had been driven ashore, and wrecked at Mylapore, that nothing was known as to the whereabouts of M. de la Bourdonnais' squadron, and that the rumour that day was that two or three of his ships were in sight, with their masts partly carried away.

Also mention occurrence of two storms.

The stranding of *Marie Gertrude* and a sloop, and wreck of Dutch ship.

The uncertainty as to fate of French fleet.

The letters also stated that a few bales of merchandise and some other cargo had been embarked before the storm burst; that the "Tambour"

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The salutes accorded to MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais.

was being beaten for M. d'Espréménil in the same way that the Deputy Governor is saluted, and that M. de la Bourdonnais was receiving the salute accorded to the Governor, that M. d'Espréménil on his arrival at Madras, took up his quarters with M. de la Bourdonnais, occupying the upper storey of his house, but on the next day shifted his residence to Coja Petrus's,* that he was paying visits to M. de la Bourdonnais at the fort from this latter place, that Nainiyappa Mudali was all powerful at Madras; that the warehouses of the merchants were being examined, and stock being taken of their contents, that the traders who had interviews with M. de la Bourdonnais were being given to understand by him that he had restored the fort to Mr. Morse, and that they should therefore address him, and that M. de la Bourdonnais was appropriating as much as he could lay his hands on.

The movements of the former.

The taking of stock of the merchants.

The action of M. de la Bourdonnais with regard to traders.

And his rapacity.

Letters from MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais to Governor refer to the storms.

Letters were also received from MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais, addressed to the Governor, in which mention was made of the storms, and the damage sustained by the shipping. What other intelligence they contained is not known.

Rumour of commencement of hostilities against the Dutch.

Rumours are afloat that after the arrival of the three French ships, hostile operations against the Dutch were commenced. A communication

* This was Coja Petrus Uscan, a very wealthy Armenian, who built the Marmelong Bridge near Madras and gave a sum of money as an endowment for the upkeep of this and the steps up St. Thomas' Mount.

from Negapatam states that the Governor there proclaimed, by beat of drum, that the French and the Dutch were at war with each other, and that all the people in the town were permitted by him to withdraw from the territories of his king, with their money, goods, and utensils, and to seek habitations elsewhere, that the townspeople were accordingly quitting Negapatam with their belongings, and that the fort there was being equipped with provisions and munitions of war.

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Governor of Negapatam said to have proclaimed outbreak of war.

And to be equipping the fort.

Tuesday, 18th October 1746, or 5th Arppisi of Akshaya.—When I set out from my house this morning, intending to call at the fort on M. Cornet, I heard that M. Dupleix had summoned the Councillors and the captains of the ships. On this, I abandoned my intention, and halted at the arecanut store-house in view to proceeding to the Governor's house. I there met Lakshmaṇa Nayakkan, Êkâmbara Aiyan, and a few others. The following is the news that I have been able to glean :—

Diarist when about to visit M. Cornet, hears that a Council has been summoned.

Proceeds to his store-house and meets certain persons.

The Council met after the Governor had drunk coffee. The naval captains remained outside for some time, but were afterwards admitted. The meeting dispersed at half-past 10. The purpose of it was to decide where the ships could be placed in security, in view of the coming monsoon. It was thought that the fleet could not be taken to Acheen, Mergui, and harbours thereabouts, as the wind was unfavourable for sailing in that direction, and the opinion was that the coast of Malabar would be

Learns that Council met to consider where to send the fleet during the monsoon.

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1746.

Decision arrived at.

more suitable for the purpose, as the rains had ceased there, summer had set in, and the ships had, moreover, the advantage of the northerly wind. It was therefore decided to take the fleet to Mahé, whence it is proposed to despatch an expedition against Anjengo and Tellicherry. The Council also arrived at the conclusion that for the time being, the ship could not return to France.

Fleet not at present to return to France.

These matters will come to light more clearly to-morrow, or the day after, when I shall record them more fully. For this purpose, I leave some space * below.

Letters to Governor from MM. d'Espréménil and de la Bourdonnais.

This morning at half-past 10, letters addressed to M. Dupleix, by MM. de la Bourdonnais and d'Espréménil, were received by the mail from Madras. The same post brought to me a letter, dated the 2nd Arppisi (15th October) from Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, which ran as follows :—

Letter from Madras to diarist mentions wreck of the *Bourbon* at Covelong.

"The French ship *Bourbon* was also wrecked in the roads at Covelong, in the outer surf. Planks and fragments of wood from her, as well as some of the cargo with which she was laden are being thrown ashore. The goods cast up are being carried off by the people of Covelong, and consequently M. de la Bourdonnais has sent M. Desjardins there, with a hundred soldiers. The *Marie Gertrude*, and the sloop wrecked at Covelong, had some cargo on board, and were not empty as I originally stated that

That there was cargo on board the *Marie Gertrude* and sloop.

* About a page has been left blank in the original.

they were. The elation of M. de la Bourdonnais has entirely disappeared, and his cares and anxieties at the present time are beyond all description. None of the other ships have as yet reappeared. What further transpires will be communicated to you in due course. The young men of Sunguvâr's family, who had betaken themselves to Madras, and quitted it after a day's stay, have since returned on account of a suit against them by a Paṭhân."

And that M. de la Bourdonnais is overwhelmed with cares.

And that certain persons had returned.

In the same letter, Guruvappa Cheṭṭi requested instructions as to whether he was to continue to remain where he was, or return to Pondichery. In reply, he was asked to advise me as to who could be entrusted at Madras with the commission of writing, from time to time, letters conveying intelligence to me.

Further asks whether the writer should return or not.

Reply of diarist.

M. de la Bourdonnais is said to have addressed a very humble letter to the Governor of Pondichery, regretting that he should have been the cause of a stigma on his reputation. M. Miran told me that he had heard the Governor speak to one or two persons, in the following terms: "What is the use of his writing such a letter to me after he has done everything just as he pleased."

Reported apology of M. de la Bourdonnais to Governor.

Alleged remarks of Governor thereon.

It appears to me that God has brought about this tempest to humble his pride, and that He has deliberately caused this disaster to his ships, in view to an accusation being brought against him both here, and in France, and thus effecting his ruin. People are unanimously of this opinion. They

Belief of diarist that storm at Madras was sent by Heaven to effect the ruin of M. de la Bourdonnais.

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1746.

Reflections of diarist.

further believe that in consideration of all his deceit and treachery, Heaven will mete out other troubles to him. He has ruined many merchants, and several of the inhabitants, and has misappropriated their property. We now see how much benefit he has derived from such deeds! We shall learn, in due course, what more awaits him.

Letter from Arcot giving news regarding Nawab, etc.

A communication has been received from Arcot stating that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is improving in health, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has crossed the Pennar, with his camp, and is marching onwards.

Ships supplied with water.

The main business of this day was furnishing the ships here with a supply of water. It would appear that nothing else was done. It is however said that eighty of the bales of broad-cloth with which M. Benoit's ship arrived laden from Madras, have been landed.

Alleged landing of part of cargo of a ship.

Impossibility of Tanappa Mudali adequately discharging his obligations to diarist.

Tânappa Mudali, the brother of Kanakarâya Mudali, can never adequately discharge his obligations to me for all the assistance that I have rendered to him—not even by worshipping me and praying for my incarnation as his offspring, and vowing to give my name to that child. The whole world knows the services rendered by me, and the interest that I took in establishing him in his present position and affluence. I need not refer to them here. Forgetting all this, he is now so ungrateful that he does not scruple to revile me for the most paltry matter, and to exhibit hostility towards me; indeed he is very watchful in this respect. But God will

His ungrateful conduct.

never countenance his designs: I know this for certain, and every one does so too, and it strikes me that He will, ere long, bring upon him troubles, and subject him to anxieties. It seems to me this man cannot escape these. If such a being as God exists, this must come to pass.

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Certainty that this will meet with divine vengeance.

APPENDIX.

In the course of searching old records at Madras for information with regard to Mr. Stratton, a curious account of the first attack made by the French on Fort St. George, as well as of the investment by M. de la Bourdonnais, has been discovered in one of the diaries of what was, at the time, the Company's factory at Tellicherry.

When the establishment at that place was abolished, the records connected with it were transferred to Calicut, and subsequently forwarded, for safe custody, to Madras. It is hardly likely that any historian would, in the expectation of finding in them anything bearing upon the operations of the French against Madras, have examined the records of so remote an out-station as Tellicherry. There therefore seems but little doubt that this is the first time that this quaint and interesting tale has been published. Even if this is not the case, it is, I consider, well worthy of reproduction here.

An exact copy of it is given. To this I have thought it desirable to add some further extracts bearing upon what occurred after the fall of Fort St. George, as well as a few foot-notes.

As regards the story told in the first of the following extracts, this, in more than one place, partakes somewhat strongly of romance, but the main facts appear to be correctly recorded.

At page 137 of Malleson's *History of the French in India*, there is a statement that the French squadron "sailing along the coast, succeeded in capturing two small ships in the Madras roads." This is not only at variance with what appears in the extract now given, Orme's History, and

Ranga Piḷḷai's diary. but it is opposed to what is contained in the annexed translation of an extract of a letter from M. de la Bourdonnais to M. Orry, Comptroller-General, dated Madras, 2nd September 1746, referring to the first expedition of the French to Madras, and the reasons for despatching it, which I have found in *Memoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais* (1750).

"I was at the time so indisposed that I went on shore. But in order that loss of time might not arise from my illness, I sent my squadron, under the command of M. de la Porte Barré, to attempt the capture of some ships which were anchored there [at Madras]. It reached its destination, and would have returned with no other results than firing a few cannon shot, and being fired on in reply, had it not, on its way back, captured a couple of small prizes."

This cumulative evidence establishes the incorrectness of the version given by Malleson of the results of the attack of the French on Fort St. George, and shows that so far as the object with which it was despatched was concerned it was a distinct failure.

According to Ranga Piḷḷai (p. 264), the capture of the two English ships was effected off Covelong, 20 miles south of Madras. This seems very probable. It certainly did not occur in the Madras roads.

J. F. P.

Extract from Tellicherry Factory Diary (Malabar Records, Volume No. 6), dated September 28th, 1746.

Examination of a Pattamar who went from hence the 3[d] of August, arrived at Madrass the 22[nd], left it the 8[th] of September & returned to Tellicherry the 28[th] d° 1746.

He says he arrived at Madrass the 22[nd] of August, when there were no French ships there, but that he heard from the Inhabitants that on the 19[th] there had been eight French ships, & were Commanded by a Cousin of Mons[r] l'Bourdinais, whose

Name to the best of his remembrance was l'Undaree.* There was either an English Man of Warr, or One of the Company's ships in Madrass Road, when the French squadron arrived, which was at seven in the Morning. The English ship immediately fired upon them, but the Commander finding that Nobody fired from the shore upon the Enemy, he at last fired two shott † into the Town, which went into the Governours apartments & at twelve at Noon they began to fire from Madrass Town, upon the Enemy's squadron & continued till one O'Clock, about which time the Fleet left the place. One ‡ of their ships having their Colours set on Fire, her mast damaged, and the Enemies Commander in Chief‡ Killed; whose Name he thinks was, l'Undaree. The French Fleet in their retreat to Pondicherry, met two English ships coming from Bencoolen, laden with Pepper and other Goods, to a very consideiable amount, which they took. Fifteen days after this, which was the 3[d] of September Mons[r] L'Bourdinay wrote a Letter to Governour Morse and told him that on the Morrow about twelve O'Clock, he won'd be at Madrass, to which Letter Governour Morse gave no reply. The next day at Noon being the 4[th] Mons[r] L'Bourdinay, came with eleven ships, and about forty, or fifty Boats to a Pagoda called Tiruvellacanna § (which is distant of Madrass, & to the S[th]ward about a Mile) where he landed his Men, which were about five hundred Europeans, fifteen hundred Coffrees, three thousand Cooleys, & three hundred seepoys. at this Place he stayed all that Night, no Guns being fired on the Enemy from Madrass. The Enemy

* The commanding officer was M. de la Porte Barré. Whether he was a cousin of M. de la Bourdonnais or not has not been ascertained.

† The incident of two cannon shot being fired into the town is mentioned at p. 260 of this volume but the circumstances stated differ somewhat from those given here, and the Governor is not mentioned as being the sufferer.

‡ These appear to be purely imaginative statements. There is no record of any loss of men, or damage to the French ships, during the attack.

§ The modern Triplicane. The landing was effected a short distance to the north of what was long known as the Ice House.

afterwards marched to a Buzzar called Chintaterrapata,* which is to the Northward of Madrass, & distant half a Mile. in this Place the English have their Colours, & a very large house, which they took Possession of after having had a skirmish. The English had in this place five hundred seepoys, three hundred of which ran away, & the remainder (two hundred) got into Madrass Town, with their officer. The French had twelve men Wounded, and a Hand of One of their Officers, shot off. The English had only two Men Killed. The Natives that were in this Buzzar fled up Country, and so soon as the English had quitted it, The French planted Guns in it, & secured it after which they Marched to Aumpure,† a large Town, where the English had a Fort, with four Bastions, and Garrisoned by about thirty Men, who immediately on sight of the French fled to Madrass, The French did not take Possession of it, but only Plundered the Inhabitants. The day following being the 6th Monsr L'Bourdinay accompanied by a hundred Men, Marched with Drums beating, & Colours flying to the Company's Garden, where the Governour has a house,‡ which place he left after

* Now known as Chintâdripêt, a suburb on the south bank of the Cooum and situated in the loop formed by that river to westward of the Penitentiary. The "large house" mentioned may have been some building standing on, or near, the site of the Government House of the present day, but nothing definite can be ascertained with regard to it.

† This was undoubtedly Egmore, the Tamil name of which is Ezhumbûr. My friend Colonel H. D. Love, R.E., has informed me that the ruins of one of the two redoubts, which formed, in 1746, out-posts of the fort, are still to be seen in the compound of the Civil Orphan Asylum, which adjoins the South Indian Railway Station. Guided by the information given me by Colonel Love, I have personally examined the other redoubt. It is close to the sea and adjoining "Leith Castle," a house which is about half a mile to the south of the suburb of St. Thomé. It is in a very fair state of preservation, and must have been, in the days in which it was constructed, a strong fortification, difficult of capture without the aid of artillery. It evidently occupied a position clear of all buildings, and affording a perfectly open field of fire.

‡ This is believed to have stood on part of the site now occupied by the contagious wards of the General Hospital. Portions of the foundations, etc., were, I have been told, found when these buildings were being erected. It was the main position of the French.

taking a View of its situation; but returned again at three in the Afternoon, & after having secured it, he immediately marched with all his Forces against Madrass and when the French came pretty near the Walls, the English fired upon them, & Obliged them to retire, with the loss of about one hundred Men; but Notwithstanding this, the French, attacked it again the 7th and 8th. during those two days the Enemy had about three hundred Men killed.* The French played upon Madrass from Tiruvellacanna, Chintaterrapata, the Company's Garden, & their ships in the Road. What happened after the 8th he knows not as he left Madrass that Night at Twelve O'Clock. He further adds that Mr. Stratton was appointed Governour of Madrass the 5th as Mr. Morse, was out of Order, & unable to give directions, & that the Council thought Mr. Stratton the fittest Person to take Charge. He says there was no Guns fired upon the Enemy till the Gentlemen of Madrass had appointed a New Governour & that the Nabobs people at first refused to let the French Land, but on Mons^r L'Bourdinays coming ashore and producing an Order from Nizzam, wherein it was mentioned, that neither the Nabob of Arcott, or any one under him, should Molest the French, but permit them to proceed against the English. Upon which Mahomed Ally Caun permitted the Enemy to Land.

Extract from Tellicherry Factory Diary (Malabar Records, Volume No. 6), dated 8th October 1746.

A Pattamar which we had sent to Madrass the 26th August returned with Private Letters from Mr. John Hinde at Fort St. Davids dated the 19th of last Month to Governour Wake at Bombay, Mr. Bourchier at Anjengo & to the Chief here. The former came under a flying seal, and enclosed signals for a ship to make on going into that Road; And advises that Madrass was besciged by the French the 5th of September and surrendered the 10th that they have eight ships there on which they are

* This seems to be another "embellishment."

loading, the Money, Coral, Broad Cloth, Callicoa Bales, & all the Arms, & Ammunition except the Great Guns, that his last Letter from that Unfortunate place, came from Mr. Morse was dated the 4th of September, & says the French had Landed two thousand Men, & were to begin the attack the next day. There are, says he, so many Reports concerning the Motives, & manner of surrendering the place, & some of them of such an extraordinary nature reported by the French, and Dutch, that he cannot form any judgment of it. Nor does he Chuse to say anything till he has it from the English, of whom they have only a private Centinel yet come in; and he left the Place on the Parleys beating (with twenty two more, all in their way to Fort St. Davids) the 10th in the Morning before the Enemy Marched in. That the Enemy talk of commencing a siege against them so soon as their ships arrive at Pondicherry, where they are daily Expected. The reason of his defering to Write so long, & that he does not now send a General Letter, is because he has no Confirmed News from any of Our Gentlemen what Terms they are on, or if any are made. He thinks if they do come to Terms they must be very bad ones, & will be worse kept. The French wanted (he hears) our Gentlemen to send an order to him for delivering up Fort St. Davids, which was as ridiculous in them to ask, as it wou'd have been in the other to give, for he is not at all apprehensive but they can defend the Place, it being small & Compact, & greatly improved since the War commenc'd particularly by a Bomb proof just finished 128 Feet long and 20 Broad, the Top of the Arch 9 feet, & all other parts 8 thick, a most convenient Place for their Garrison, as the Enemy depend chiefly on their shells, against which they are entirely secure; He was Providentially led to build this from a hint Monsr Paradis, who now Commands their Land Forces, gave when he was there on a Visit on his (Mr Hindes) first coming. For he then said he cou'd take the Fort in half an hour with Bombs only, as there was so much building in it & no Cover for the People. They have upwards of two hundred Europeans more coming in from Madrass Garrison, & as many Topasses, & they

have Provision for above a twelve Month. That he has Wrote to Bengall, as he now does to Bombay, to request succours. An Ingeneer, or more they want much (Mr Smith Died at Madrass the day before the attack with the fatigue of preparation) as also Military Officers having only two in Garrison. He adds that if Mr Wake will send two or three hundred Europeans with Officers, Arms, and Ammunition & Provisions of all sorts (Europe Beef and Pork if possible) they shall not be afraid of all the French force. and he does not, under God, doubt holding out till it can come. The Monsoon he thinks ought to be no Obstacle, as there is seldom more than a day, or two in it of such Weather as can hurt a ship; and that risk he says out to be run, on such an Occasion. Six, or eight Guns with Shot to them of 24 to 36 Pounders wou'd be very usefull there and he desires a Credit on some house at Arcot for ten thousand Pagodas so soon as possible, any Letters by the Dutch directed to Galenus Mersen Esqr Governour of Negapatam, or Stephen Veimot Chief of Porto Novo (all the directions in a Dutch hand) will go safe to him. The last time he heard from Captain Peyton was the 27th July, when he Wrote from Trinconamalla that he was coming with the Kings Ships on their Coast; that he did so, & appeared, off Negapatam the 6th August was in sight of the French Fleet the 7th, 8th and 9th & then disappeared till the 23d when he was seen off Pullicat, & sent his Lieutenant on board a Vessel in that Road, who was told that the French had attacked the Princess Mary in Madrass Road, on which he went away, and has not since been heard of, not having Wrote a line to any of them or given them an opportunity of Writing to him tho' no Cost or Pains has been spared for that Purpose. One wou'd think, (continues Mr. Hinde) that the French knew where he was. for their ships are now lying in Madrass Road some of them with only twenty Men on board. You'll please says he, to let Our Masters in Europe know as soon as you can, how we are Circumstanced. He will Write to them by the Danes Ship, which goes from that Coast to Achin, in about twenty days, & from thence to Europe in December. The other two Letters from

Mr. Hinde to Mr. Bourchier, & Mr. Dudley, are only a Confirmation of what he has Wrote to Governour Wake, and an acknowledgement of the receipt of two Letters, dated the 21st &26th of August to Governour Morse from M. Dudley.

Extract from Tellicherry Factory Diary (Malabar Records, Volume No. 6), dated 22nd October 1746.

A Pattamar belonging to this place, who was dispatched to Madrass returned without any answer from the Gentlemen there, but brought a letter from Mr. John Hinde at Fort St. Davids dated the 7th Instant to Mr. Richard Bourchier of Anjengo, & said he was directed to deliver it to the Chief. The purport of the said Letter, in regard to Publick Transactions, says only that Monsr L'Bourdinay has appointed Monsr Vilboque, his Brother Governour of Madrass & that he was to sail from thence the very day his Letter bore date, with the English Gentlemen on board. That he hears the Enemy were determined to make a Push at Fort St. Davids before they left that Coast, tho' so late in the season. others he says report, that they are bound to the Mallabar Coast, & that they were Reshipping the Ladders, &ca. The British Men of War had not been seen, or heard of, a long while.

Extract from Tellicherry Factory Diary (Malabar Records, Volume No. 6), dated 11th November 1746.

The Chief this day received a Letter from Governour Morse, dated Fort St. George the 1st of October, advising no more than that there were three French Ships arrived at Pondicherry three days past from Europe but last from Mahie, that they are to be under the Command of Monsr L'Bourdinay, & 'tis thought they with the rest of his squadron will proceed to the Mallabar Coast and Bombay in a few days. Mr. Hinde likewise Wrote the Chief, under the 13th ulto that a Gale of Wind

happened at Madrass the 2nd October, which destroy'd there the Duke of Orleans, and two more French Ships & that the Achilles with most, if not all the rest had Cut away their Masts, so he imagines their designs on this Coast must Vanish; the three who had been at Mahie were ready to sail hither, but some of the Enemies squadron he thinks must go to Bengall, as only One ship (the Insulair*) was yet gone thither; and she, he hears was lost in the River with 280 Men on board; He concludes with refering the Chief for further News to Governour Morse's Letter, but he being silent, the followg is Purport of a Letter from Mr Hinde to Mr Bourchier un[der] the 12th ulto. Mr. Hinde says that Governour Morse Writes him, They surrendered the Town on promise of its being Ransomed, which Monsr L'Bourdinay Agreed shou'd be Complied with, and accordingly Articles for that purpose was drawn out the 28th Septr and wer [e] to [be] signed the 29th by which the French were to Evacuate the Town, and leave it in the English Possession the 2nd or 3d of October; that then Monsr L'Bourdinay Altered those Articles, & the Treaty broke off, he being Determined to keep a French Garrison till January; On the whole, continues Mr. Hinde, it appears to me, no dependance can be had on anything now they are in Possession of the Place. He does not know the Terms of the Ransom, only by Publick report from the Dutch and black People, and is therefore silent on that head, The French had loaded on board seven ships, lying in Madrass Road almost all the Valuable things in that unfortunate Place; and were to have sailed the 3d of October, but a Gale of Wind happened that

* The *Insulaire*, which was a frigate of 24 guns and 350 men, suffered very severely in the action fought on the 6th July 1747, between the French and English fleets off Negapatam, and the day after the battle, was detached to proceed to Chandernagore. On her way up the Hoogly she was lost apparently on one of the many shoals that abound in that river, and—so French records say—not more than 10 of her crew and officers were saved. The same records show that the prize of which Ranga Pillai makes mention (p. 331) was a country ship of 250 tons burden laden chiefly with salt. In one French official letter she is said to have been also carrying "some rupees," but in another the lading, other than salt, is stated to have been a little tea, and some pottery.

Morning which has totally destroyed three of their Ships & their whole Companys, among which is the Duke of Orleans the next ship in force to the Achilles which with two, or three more have lost all their Masts, so that all the Enterprizes of that squadron are Overset at once ; for sometime at least.

Extract from Tellicherry Factory Diary (Malabar Records, Volume No. 6), dated 22nd November 1746.

At about 10 O'Clock at Night We recd p̄ Tone,* a Letter from the Chief & Factors at Anjengo dated the 18th Inst advising their Pattamar had returned from Fort St. Davids with the Letter they now enclose us for the Presidency, & say they have had a General Letter from Mr Hinde and Council, informing them Fort St. George surrendered to the French the 10th September, & that Fort St. Davids wou'd have been attacked had not a storm which happened the 2nd † & 3d † of October occasioned the loss of two of their Ships & disabled all the rest, That Madrass was to have been Ransomed, but they dont hear on what Terms, but the Agreement was not Ratified by Governour Duplex, who put in that Place a Governour & Council, tho' it is now Beseiged by the Nabobs son, who has reduced both the English & French therein to great streights. Monsr L'Bourdinay with the three ships from this Coast, & four with Jury Masts, sailed to the Sthward from Madrass the 18th ulto as did the Sumatra (lately Our hon'ble Masters ship) for Europe on the 20th. In a Postcript they say Mr. Hinde had dispatched the Porto Bello Sloop, about the 20th ulto with the unhappy News of Our Masters affairs to Great Brittain.

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* Dhoney—a native coasting craft.

† At page 399 the dates given, as those of the occurrence of this storm, which was clearly a cyclone, were 13th & 14th October. The difference in dates arises from one set being according to the New, and the other the Old Style. This matter is fully explained in the prefatory note to Vol. I.

NOMINAL INDEX.



